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Country Warns 'Conflict Threatens To Move South'

MS2208095695 London THE TIMES in English 22 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Dessa Trevisan: "Albania Urges UN To Intervene in Kosovo"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rovinj—Albania has warned the international community that the Balkan conflict threatens to move south after Belgrade's decision to settle Croatian Serb refugees in the troubled Kosovo region. The Albanian population there represents an overwhelming majority and Serbia has imposed what amounts to martial law for the past seven years.

As about 500 Serbs arrived in the region, the Albanian Government accused Belgrade of colonising Kosovo and preparing the ground for "ethnic cleansing". Tirana is calling on the United Nations to intervene.

Belgrade's original plan was to accommodate 15,000 refugees but this has been reduced to 5,000. Nevertheless, Kosovo Albanians are anxious that the move may be an attempt by Serbia to alter the demographic balance.

Ibrahim Rugova, the Kosovo Albanian leader, has resisted militant pressure, but a new generation is impatient for a return to autonomy.

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SDS Head: Videnov Acquiring All Power in BSP

AU2208091595 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 17 Aug 95 p 9

[Interview with Ivan Kostov, Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) leader, by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given: "If Marinov Views Himself as BSP Boss, Let Him Compare Strength With Videnov"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Veleva] Could the intrigues within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] shake the parliamentary majority in the 37th National Assembly?

[Kostov] Strengthening Videnov's personal position and weakening all democratic positions in the BSP have occurred in the seven months Videnov has been in power. This is by definition a tendency within the BSP, which only now begins to emerge. I do not think it is possible to block or weaken those processes in the BSP. On the contrary, as you see, Videnov is concentrating all power in his hands. Recently, he acquired another post related to the elections—he became head of the party expert group. Thus, in practice Videnov left not a single key position outside his hands. In this manner he is creating a system of the cadres' personal dependence on him, because they have been promoted by him. This only revives the strong instincts developed by the party's leading functionaries in the last 50 years. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] What bothers you most in the last months of the BSP rule?

[Kostov] I am bothered most by the revival of the authoritarian style. I even began to note this in the provocation-vulgar manner in which the prime minister himself is speaking. This is not the manner in which a democrat expresses himself. An open person, who is used to conducting a dialogue and making compromises and who adhers to exercising both power and responsibility, does not show any such style of behavior. In this sense Videnov's young head will give him many unpleasant surprises. His fiasco will be much more cruel than what we have by now became used to in Bulgaria. It could be something very unpleasant for Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

[Veleva] Is there a crisis of cadres in the BSP?

[Kostov] Undoubtedly, yes. The BSP does not have a candidate for the post of Sofia mayor. I appeal again through your newspaper to Aleksandur Marinov. He should not hesitate too much, and if he views himself as a BSP boss, he should compare strength with Videnov. Let him show how much authority he has in Sofia. On the other hand, if he wants to clear the road and open it for Videnov, let him do it like a man—at once! He will not find a suitable candidate. Aleksandur Marinov has only losing variants, but only one of them involves an element of preserving dignity! [passage omitted]

[Veleva] You said at the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] seminars that the SDS will demand early parliamentary elections. How do you view this subject?

[Kostov] If the united opposition emerges victorious at the presidential elections the SDS will demand early parliamentary elections. This is our strategic goal.

SDS Establishes National Election Commission

AU1808120195 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 16 Aug 95 p 3

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Executive Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will have the final say on appointments of candidates for the local elections. Ivan Kostov, chairman of the SDS National Executive Council, said that some of the candidates nominated to run in certain towns will have to give way if the SDS agrees with the People's Union to select other persons. He did not explain how people would be compelled to vote for the candidate approved by SDS headquarters. He said that the National Executive Council would settle any conflicts when the procedure for selecting candidates is infringed or if anyone refuses to withdraw from the election campaign.

The SDS still hopes to hold talks with the People's Union on selecting joint mayoral candidates and joint candidates in some of the chief towns of the former okrugs. Kostov warned that if Mozer's and Savov's union nominate its own candidate for Sofia's mayor, the People's Union will thereby desert the united opposition.

Konstantin Todorov, deputy chairman of the SDS parliamentary group, will chair the SDS National Election Commission. Kostov said that he has the best knowledge of the Local Elections Act. Todorov's deputies will be Mario Tagarinski, who was until now acting chairman of the election commission, and SDS Deputy Dr. Mikhail Mikhaylov. Two more National Assembly deputies, the lawyers Vasil Doykov and Dimo Gyaurov, will complete the commission's membership. Ivan Sotirov will be the commission's secretary.

The commission will coordinate the work of all the local election headquarters and will be based at 134 Rakovski Street, Sofia [SDS national headquarters].

Kostov said that the polls that had appeared rating the popularity of Reneta Indzhova [People's Union candidate for Sofia's mayor] and Stefan Sofiyanski [SDS mayoral candidate] and that were later disowned

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by the public opinion agencies were a provocation. According to the latest research carried out by the National Center for Public Opinion Research, Stefan Sofianski leads with 29.3 percent, followed by the BSP candidate, whose name is still to be announced, with 28.9 percent, and Reneta Indzhova with 25.9 percent.

Fire Extinguished at Kozloduy Nuclear Plant

AU2208095395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A fire broke out last night at the first reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, the Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reports. The fire has been caused by a short circuit in one of the reactor's pumps, and has already been extinguished. There is no danger of radiation.

The Press Center adds that the first reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has not been active for years, and that it is currently being overhauled.

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Klaus in Favor of Withdrawal From Yugoslavia

AU2108134595 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 18 Aug 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Chalupa in Prague on 17 August: "We Will Do Anything for Good Czech-German Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Chalupa] A few days ago, the Czech Republic buried the first Czech soldiers to have laid down their lives in service as UN troops. How would you assess our troops' participation in UN peace operations, and what is the response abroad to our involvement?

[Klaus] I think our involvement internationally is certainly a positive sign. I have been assured of this by many world politicians, including some in the U.S. Administration. We, too, should not close our eyes to what is happening in the world, and we have been acting accordingly. An entirely different issue is the effect of these military operations in southern Lebanon, for instance, Somalia, or Cypress—and I could name other crisis areas. Of course, the effect of the deployment of international forces under the UN flag differs greatly from place to place. We know of instances when they played a very obvious and visible role; at other times it is far more complex.

If we look at the countries where the blue helmets operate, we learn to our surprise that the blue helmets have been in some of them for dozens of years, and the local explosive situation has not significantly changed during this time. So we cannot be surprised that the efficiency of these forces deployed in former Yugoslavia became the target of world criticism. Of course, no one has the courage to take the resolute step and declare that it would be better if they were not there. Nevertheless, it is absolutely clear that in the short term, their withdrawal would result in increased hostilities in the former Yugoslavia. The question remains, however, whether long-term hostility, even if a little less intense, will not lead to a greater number of victims and a greater tragedy than if the matter were settled radically relatively quickly. The Czech Republic probably cannot push through this point of view, but I believe that we should express our opinion.

[Chalupa] How would you assess, with the passing of time, the investigation of the so-called high treason? Do you believe that the first failed attempt could somehow damage the prestige of the country, which is not afraid to look in the rearview mirror?

[Klaus] Errors never pay. The entire operation was initiated in a manner lacking in quality and competency, which certainly translates into a loss. It is not as much a loss from the international point of view as it is among our citizens, who are justified in their insistence on looking into that rearview mirror. [passage omitted]

Klaus on CEFTA Expansion, NATO Membership

AU2208092395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Lubos Palata in Silherovice on 17 August: "The Prime Minister Wants To Make the Central European Association a Common Market"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Silherovice [North Moravia]—Despite the successful development of the Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA), Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus is not satisfied with the rate at which customs barriers are being pulled down. Klaus proposes not only expanding the association by other states but also a gradual transformation into a common market. The prime minister also believes that the membership in the North Atlantic Alliance should come before integration into the EU.

[Palata] Mr. Prime Minister, after the meeting with your Polish counterpart Jozef Oleksy, you expressed satisfaction over the results of CEFTA. Are there still some reserves?

[Klaus] Within the framework of its plans, there still are many products denoted as sensitive, as a result of which the customs reduction is being delayed, and the elimination of restrictive quotas postponed. It is our task to speed up this process so that there are as few limitations as possible or none at all. This is connected with the problem of how to develop this association. The Czech Republic advocates an expansion of the organization by other states. We offer free trade zones to many countries. We have signed a treaty with Estonia, and are preparing others. We are interested in a further expansion of CEFTA. Unfortunately not all the member countries share this interest. Hungary in particular opposes it. Poland's intentions are similar to ours, although its geographical preferences are different. Warsaw is, logically, more interested in the membership of Lithuania, for instance. There is also the issue of the possible development of the association from trade liberalization to liberalization of the flow of labor, money, capital. CEFTA could develop in the direction that could be summed up as a common market.

[Palata] Does Poland support this?

[Klaus] I can say that on the part of Prime Minister Oleksy certainly yes.

[Palata] How would you characterize the level of relations with Warsaw?

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[Klaus] We have managed to transfer the relations to a truly pragmatic plane, deideologize them and clear them of certain undertones that used to be there.

[Palata] Poland is of the opinion that membership in the North Atlantic Alliance should come before integration into the Union. What do you think?

[Klaus] It is true that the Polish side believes that it is easier to join NATO and that it is conditioned by fewer requirements than joining the EU. I personally share this view.

[Palata] Does the establishment of a close cooperation with Poland in this sphere mean that the Czech Republic tends to support the view that Slovakia and Hungary have a much lesser chance of early NATO membership?

[Klaus] I would not say that, and it grieves me when I am cast in the role of someone who is trying to get in somewhere before someone else. If you run in a race, you run as fast as you can, and cannot keep looking back to see how the others are doing.

[Palata] There are rumors to the effect that the integration of the Central European countries into the EU could be delayed by at least several years. Is the intensification of the cooperation between the Central European countries a reaction to these signals?

[Klaus] I do not listen to these voices because the result and the length of the EU intergovernment conference, which is due next year, will be the decisive factor. That is the alpha and omega of the whole issue.

[Palata] Are you an optimist in this respect and at this time?

[Klaus] I am an optimist in general but it seems to me that the conference could take longer than we expected. This could result in—I would not say a delay of our entry but at least a delay in the conclusion of this intergovernment conference.

Foreign Ministers Discuss Balkan Crisis

AU2108180395 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Aug 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Zieleniec With Godal on Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Norwegian Foreign Minister Bjorn Tore Godal and his Czech counterpart Josef Zieleniec expressed very similar views on the crisis in the countries of the former Yugoslavia at their meeting in Prague yesterday.

"We emphasized the importance of international activity, but, at the same time, we agreed that the solution to the situation in the former Yugoslavia cannot evolve outside this region, but has to come out of the talks involving the region's participating sides," said Zieleniec. The ministers emphasized the need for humanitarian aid for the afflicted in the former Yugoslavia. Zieleniec pointed out that on 16 August, the Czech Government approved an aid package for the refugees from Serbian Krajina.

Apart from the situation in the Balkans, Zieleniec and Godal also discussed the most important issues concerning security in Europe, the further development of the European Union, and the possibilities for the further development of mutual Czech-Norwegian relations.

During his two-day official visit to the Czech Republic, the Norwegian minister will also meet Jiri Vlach, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies; Vaclav Petricek, deputy trade and industry minister; and Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party.

Mesit To Produce Tank Intercom System

AU2108173995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 18 Aug 95 p 14

[Report by "ce": "New Communications Equipment for the T-72"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Uherske Hradiste—The participation of the Mesit Instruments Co. Uherske Hradiste in modernizing the T-72 tank could be worth 25-30 million korunas.

The avionics manufacturer with 40 years of experience will provide new intercom equipment that will conform to NATO standards for the modernized tanks of the Czech Army.

"According to our marketing estimate, the contract could amount to 10-15 percent of the company's annual sales," Marketing Director Milan Kanovsky told LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday.

Mesit has developed the microprocessor communications equipment in cooperation with an unnamed European firm. The previous communications equipment, which was Russian and was designed on the diode principle [elektronkova baze], does not correspond to present needs.

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Vojvodina Slovaks Said Victims of 'Cleansing'

AU2108124595 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(bj)": "The Office for Refugees in Osijek Has Information That Vojvodina Slovaks Are Also Victims of the Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to eyewitnesses among the Croats expelled by the Serbs from Vojvodina, which is located on the territory of Serb-Montenegrin Yugoslavia, Vojvodina Slovaks are also the victims of violent "cleansing." The head of the refugee office in Osijek in eastern Croatia, Nada Arbanasova, states this in a report that the Croatian news agency HINA gave to SME's editorial office yesterday. "The Osijek office has received reports of harsh treatment and expulsions of other, non-Serb, inhabitants such as, for example, Hungarians and Slovaks from Vojvodina," says the agency report.

Slovak Ambassador to Croatia Matus Kucera told us yesterday that the reports of the expulsion of Slovaks from Vojvodina have not been verified. In reply to a question on what the course of action of our authorities would be if our expelled compatriots were to report to the Slovak Embassy, Kucera said that it is too early to say. "It is not out of the question that these are Croatian citizens of Slovak origin who have fled from Erdevik," he said and emphasized that, first, "it is necessary to find out where they are from."

"Many Slovaks lived there and had a great deal of property. Vojvodina is a fertile region that supplied not only Serbia but also the other parts of the former Yugoslavia. There are Slovak villages there—for example, Erdevik—which people have abandoned and where they have left everything, because they could no longer endure the terror," said Lukrecia Vrnoga, an official in the consular section of our embassy in Zagreb, yesterday. In reply to a question on whether the Slovaks in Vojvodina have had any problems with the Serb authorities recently, she said that after the Croats' recent victorious offensive in Krajina, the Serbs first began to force the Slovaks into a "voluntary" departure. "They are cleansing it from the other side, because they want to hold on to Slavonia, which is a border zone leading to Vojvodina and the whole of Serbia," she added. She also said that telephone connections with Vojvodina have been cut. "I do not believe that they are on Croatian territory; I assume that many of them are going either to Slovakia or Croatia, often through Hungary."

Until 1989, Vojvodina was an autonomous part of Yugoslavia; however, the central authorities revoked its autonomy. According to the data from our authorities, 65,000 Slovaks lived here before the conflict. Others lived in eastern Slavonia.

Kovac Views Row Over U.S. Trip, Other Issues

AU2208082795 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Aug 95 p 9

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Marian Lesko in Bratislava on 16 August: "Everything Is in Our Hands; President Michal Kovac on Slovakia's Near and More Distant Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When, one week ago, President Michal Kovac repeated the opinion of three representatives of the United States that "the view is beginning to prevail in the United States that Slovakia is no longer keeping abreast of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in the building of democracy and reforms," his words caused a political storm in Slovakia. Although this storm seems to be slowly subsiding, words too serious to leave unnotices have been uttered. The beginning of our interview was therefore devoted mainly to them.

[Lesko] Mr. President, let us proceed in chronological order. Prime Minister Meciar said that, prior to your trip [to the United States], you had agreed not to attack one another. Nonetheless, "the trip to the United States followed and the attacks continue"....

[Kovac] I have, naturally, noticed the statement that I had supposedly violated the agreements reached during our talk on 27 July, when we really exchanged views on what we should do to reduce and eliminate tension between us and improve the overall atmosphere in our society. One of our mutual commitments was not to attack one another. One day after this meeting I returned the three laws in question to the parliament for another discussion, whereupon the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Political Board reiterated its call for my resignation. A direct appeal to me to "finally" step down can hardly be considered nonaggression, in my opinion. After my meetings in the United States and my interview [for Slovak Radio], accusations were made—on the Press Club program [regular Tuesday television panel discussion with Prime Minister Meciar] and in an interview for PRACA—that, while in the United States, I had been "complaining"; that I "attacked the prime minister," "did not defend my own state"; that I was "attacking" and violating our agreements, and the like—only because I imparted to the Radio Journal fresh information on my talks in the United States. My information cannot be regarded as an attack on the prime minister. I considered it my duty to communicate to the Slovak public a serious signal, on the understanding that detailed information would be made available to the government and the appropriate officials. I believe that,

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unlike the other side, I have not violated the agreement on mutual nonaggression.

[Lesko] Parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic declares that, if the president "cites in the United States something for which he previously condemned members of the Hungarian ethnic minority, something is not in order"....

[Kovac] There is a substantial difference between the two statements. One of the Hungarian coalition representatives said that in autumn at the latest, we will be in for a stern warning from the U.S. President, the Congress, and the U.S. State Department. I did not say that the U.S. Administration intended to intervene in any way. My information was about how certain facts in our country are being assessed in the U.S. Administration. It was not meant as a comprehensive assessment, which would include also the United States' words of recognition for many aspects of developments in Slovakia to date. My information cannot be compared with statements made by representatives of the Hungarian coalition. Several U.S. officials kept stressing that they did not intend to interfere in our internal affairs and that it was none of their business which government would lead Slovakia toward the market system, a stable democracy, and the EU, or who would head that government. The United States will support any government heading in that direction.

[Lesko] State Secretary Jozef Sestak said on television that you had lunch with low-ranking officials, compared with your post. "Such low-ranking officials could scarcely have a mandate from the U.S. Administration to formulate such messages."

[Kovac] We organized the working lunch in cooperation with our embassy. One of the reasons for organizing it was that the scheduled meeting with Vice President Al Gore had been delayed by one day. This made us prepare a working lunch with representatives of the White House, Pentagon, and the State Department, experts whose area of responsibility is central Europe and, hence, also the Slovak Republic. Moreover, the gentlemen attending the lunch were involved in the preparation of my meeting with the vice president and, subsequently, two of them personally participated in that meeting. As no official talks during an official visit were involved, the protocol did not matter in this case. Moreover, I know two of the invited gentlemen personally, having met them also in Bratislava. Therefore, I do not consider it inappropriate to have spent time with them at a working lunch. Their position should not be underestimated because they prepare key background materials for the highest representatives of the United States. What they said was conveyed, and intended, in a friendly manner. I am convinced that their sole intention was to draw attention to what they view as damaging to our interests, if we are serious about our integration efforts.

[Lesko] Slovak National Party Chairman [SNS] Jan Slota feels the president "has discredited his office by acting as messenger for representatives of the [U.S.] Administration and by presenting an unofficial conversation as the official U.S. position."

[Kovac] Talks such as those that I had in the United States are a routine occurrence among politicians. Many of them take place so that knowledge of their contents does not remain confined to the participants but so that the public, too, obtains information about them. This is the case, in particular, when the talks are not designated beforehand as confidential. My talks had not been designated as such. Quite the contrary, the participants demonstrated an interest in our public's learning about views evolving within the U.S. state administration, in the belief and hope—and I repeat this—that this will serve a good purpose and will benefit the interests of Slovakia. I do not consider the imparting of such information humiliating or discrediting.

[Lesko] Following the ado about the interview for Slovak Radio, your meeting with Vice President Al Gore remained somewhat in the shadows. Are you able to say, after this meeting, what Slovakia's chances are of not dropping out of the first group of states to be admitted to the EU and Western security structures?

[Kovac] My talks with the vice president confirmed that the United States not only takes note of, but also appreciates, what has been done in Slovakia to date for democracy and the transformation process. The United States will support our republic in its efforts to become integrated into the EU and NATO, the prerequisite being, of course, that domestic policy live up to the qualities of democratic development and the strengthening of a state based on a rule of law and that it establish a market system and other conditions for our integration. If they assess critically certain steps in the sphere of domestic policy, it is because they believe these could damage our integration interests. They clearly said that, under conditions different from those I just mentioned, they would not feel committed to supporting us. They are confident that their standpoints will not remain without a response from our side, which would improve our chances. I kept stressing that developments in Slovakia need not be overdramatized, that we are capable of coming to terms with the problems ourselves, and that, as regards integration efforts, there is therefore no reason for our country to be delegated to the second or third wave [of candidates].

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[Lesko] The U.S. vice president stressed the significance of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty. According to him, the ratification of the treaty will determine Slovakia's future in many ways. In what context did he say this?

[Kovac] When I spoke about a number of positive steps taken by our government, I also mentioned the signing of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty and voiced the hope that it will be ratified by the end of this year. The vice president reacted to this immediately, saying that, according to his information, the Slovak prime minister had spoken along similar lines, adding that he was glad that I confirmed this. It was precisely at this point that he stressed what great significance the United States attributes to the treaty's coming into effect as early as possible.

[Lesko] When you recently returned three approved laws to the parliament for further discussion, assessments appeared viewing this step as a proof that the president has become the head of the opposition in Slovakia....

[Kovac] Indeed, when I return laws, this is perceived either as a hostile act toward the government or parliament deputies, or as an expression of my affiliation with the opposition. I view such assessments as an attempt to prevent me, as president, from having my own opinion. I am convinced, however, that I need to have an opinion of my own on important decisions and I will be very happy if my opinion is identical with that of the government or deputies. However, I reserve the right to an independent judgment, without regard for any criticism. In no way do I intend to interfere in the government's authority to seek the most practical solution to a problem by legislative means. When assessing the wording of a law, I am interested in three criteria: whether or not the legislative norm is in harmony with the Constitution, whether or not the proposed solution strengthens and expands democracy and reinforces the principles of a state based on the rule of law, and, third, whether or not the law in question weakens—or at the very least, does nothing to strengthen—state dirigisme. These are the criteria that I consider to be crucial. If proposed laws are in harmony with these requirements, I am only too happy to be able to sign them. If they are not, I have to do my duty: send the laws back for further discussion, following a thorough examination of the legislation and consultation with experts—without concern for being branded as the head of the Slovak opposition.

[Lesko] Views are to be heard from both sides of our polarized political spectrum that strange things are being planned for September. [SNS Chairman] Mr. Slota has announced that an attempt would be made to stage a "parliamentary putsch," while [Democratic Union Chairman] Mr. Moravcik knows about the existence of a fund to buy deputies' votes. These are clear signs of political nervousness. Where does this nervousness come from, in your opinion?

[Kovac] I am also asking myself about its possible origin. I have arrived at the opinion that, most probably, it stems from some kind of fear. But what kind of a Putsch can be staged here, considering that the government is supported by the parliament and has the situation in the country under control? Talking about a "putsch" is thus nonsense. The question needs to be asked, however, whether such speculations are not being spread deliberately in order to keep society in permanent tension, which would establish prerequisites for steps that are not quite in harmony with the strengthening of democracy. I have not yet formed an unequivocal view on this, but I am convinced that we are not facing the threat of any putsch. Naturally, all kinds of discussions can arise in parliament but the decision on what will be discussed will be made by deputies for the government coalition. If nothing unexpected is being pr[illegible]ed for parliament from their side, then nothing une[illegible]ed can happen in parliament.

[Lesko] You are to deliver your annual report on the state of society in the National Council in September. How far did you get in preparing it and what is its main idea?

[Kovac] The first draft of the report is ready. I have made it available to our leading experts so that they can assess its contents. We have been receiving comments, additions, and ideas. We want to process them by the end of August and prepare two versions: a more extensive one, which deputies will receive in writing, and a more concise one, which I would like to present to parliament. We want the report to penetrate deep into the state of our society, which is why we want to look at society not only from the economic perspective. We have invited our most distinguished experts to participate in drafting the report.

[Lesko] Mr. President, I would like to ask you in conclusion what kind of a development you expect in the near future. Do you see any indications of a hot political autumn?

[Kovac] Everything is in our hands. I would say that the decisive part of what fall will be like is in the hands of the government and the government coalition [sentence as published]. If they want it to be calm, it can be calm. If not, it will not be calm. I do not think that what fall will ultimately be like can be decisively influenced by the trade unions, the president, or the opposition. If there is goodwill, not just the coming fall will be calm and businesslike. I do not see any outside forces that could

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force a hot autumn upon Slovakia. Everything can be prevented. It is possible to move from confrontation to businesslike dialogue and from mutual recrimination to more patient listening to one another, to reacting calmly to what the other side has to say, and to seeking—and finding—common solutions. I really do not think there is anything that would predetermine what this year's autumn will be like. I want it to be calm so that our citizens are able to say that there is interest, and also goodwill, to address problems that they find most distressing.

Daily Challenges Optimism About U.S. Note

AU2108125395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Aug 95 p 4

[Commentary by Leopold Moravcik: "Sources of Slovak Optimism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the last few days, I have become even more convinced that when two people assess the same facts, it is quite common for them to arrive at completely different results—in the same way as when Slovak politicians comment on all kinds of demarches, replies to notes, or conversations during working lunches.

When, shortly after the elections, Slovakia received a demarche from the EU, representatives of the present government coalition were portraying it as a "friendly gesture." The optimism lasted only until even ordinary citizens were able to read the document in question. The optimism was then gone.

When, still under the impression of his talks during a working lunch in Washington, President Michal Kovac related their contents to the radio, one of the arguments that could be heard was that his interlocutors were "fairly low-ranking" representatives of the U.S. Administration. However, this "chattering of some clerks" did not prevent the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs from sending an official note to the United States. The problem is that it is precisely those "clerks" who are preparing background material, analyses, and recommendations that serve as a basis for politicians' decisions.

We already know that the Slovak Government has received from the United States a reply to its note. Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, says the reply is "positive." The prime minister was even more optimistic and, in an interview for PRACA, he said the reply "is highly positive in the government's favor." Experts on U.S. policy say, however, that the reply does not differ from what U.S. Vice President Al Gore said when receiving the Slovak president in Washington. There is thus nothing left for us to do but to reach for the official White House document from that meeting, according to which the vice president:

—expressed strong support of the United States for Slovakia in its democratic and market transformation and integration into the transatlantic community,

—voiced recognition for the role played by the Slovak president in this process thus far, stressing the need for Slovakia to deepen its democratic reforms and to continue in privatization and other essential structural changes.

As a matter of fact, none of this is new. Sentences such as these resound repeatedly in all recent U.S. statements. If a representative of the Slovak Government considers them "highly positive," however, he either did not analyze them or he read, at most, the first sentence, and identifies his domestic policy with democracy and market transformation.

Unfortunately, the transcript of a meeting between [Foreign Minister Juraj] Schenk and [British Ambassador Peter] Harborne has appeared in public, in which the British ambassador labeled certain activities of the present government coalition a "step back" inconceivable in EU countries. The British side has not questioned the contents of the transcript [published in Bratislava SME in Slovak on 15 August]. Moreover, it surely is not accidental that in the very days when the Slovak Government received the reply to its note, two prestigious U.S. dailies carried articles criticizing the policies of the government, and Vladimir Meciar in particular. It is said that, precisely, these articles are an expression of the mounting apprehensions of U.S. congressmen and the U.S. journalistic community about further developments in Slovakia.

The commentary that the daily THE NEW YORK TIMES published on Monday [14 August] literally states, in its conclusion: "Bonn and Washington have both stepped up their warnings that such conduct would bar Slovakia from being admitted into NATO and the EU." Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced over radio that his U.S. partners "did not identify with the timing and contents of the article in question."

But even this optimism will apparently last only until a document appears on the desk of some editorial office bearing out the exact opposite.

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FNM To Continue Privatizing 'Strategic' Firms

AU2208103095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Aug 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Martin Benko: "An Intuition for Selecting the Purchaser"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"There are also other interests such as the Fund's liquidity, privatization, and so on," said Jan Porvaznik, the deputy chairman of the National Property Fund [FNM] Executive Committee and director of its section for considering privatization proposals, to whom we turned yesterday with a question on why the FNM Presidium is also approving the sale of its shares in the so-called strategically important shareholding companies.

As the public already knows, after VSZ [East Slovak Iron Works] Kosice, where the FNM's most senior body also decided to sell the last of its shares, came Bratislava Slovnaft and Duslo Sala. The FNM will lose its dominant stake in these two strategic shareholding companies, but will still retain some influence. According to J. Porvaznik, the FNM Presidium decides on which interests have priority. It is also authorized to approve the sale of shares in strategic enterprises. He does not know anything or, rather, he has not been informed about reservations expressed by the government or the Economy Ministry regarding these privatization cases. The FNM intends to continue privatizing the other strategic enterprises, with the exception of the first group, which cannot be the subject of privatization.

"The most complicated thing in the privatization process is selection when the offers are comparable in almost all aspects. This means the amount of the purchase price, the payment conditions, and the quality of the purchaser. By the quality of the purchaser I do not mean some brand-new just-registered limited company, but a firm that has been doing business here for three years, employs people, and achieves a solid performance.

"In that it is complicated, you have to lean toward something," said J. Porvaznik. According to him, the decision on selecting the purchaser is then just a matter of intuition, nothing more. The Executive Committee, however, only makes a recommendation; the final decision is made by the Presidium, which accepts or alters it.

J. Porvaznik justified the absence of regular press briefings at the FNM, which would make its activity and the privatization process more transparent, by saying that the Executive Committee's staff and the Fund's management in general are under constant stress. Therefore, they prefer to let their press secretary make public via TASR the Fund's basic figures and results. "We also feel the need to hold a news conference, because, following the approval of further laws, privatization has become the subject of lively debate and we would like to express our view," added J. Porvaznik. It is to be hoped that his promise will not become covered in the dust of forgetfulness.

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Bokros Comments on Economic Policy Coordination

AU2208095595 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Aug 95 p 7

[Interview with Finance Minister Lajos Bokros by Laszlo Gergely; place and date not given: "Will We Have a Continuous Balance-Maintaining Economic Policy?—Bokros Believes in the Reform of State Administration and in the Simple Equation, and Does Not Think His Child Will Soon Be Happy"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Gergely] Is it possible to forget about the double squeeze, that many people find the restrictive measures to be too much, while other, perhaps fewer, people expect further reform measures from the Bokros and Suranyi [chairman of the Hungarian National Bank] duo, including, for example, a new system of tax policy that is predictable, like the exchange rate policy?

[Bokros] I am also one of those who believe that further reform measures are necessary. However, it has to be realized that matters do not depend on the will of two people. They depend on whether we can make society and the professional and political public accept the need for reforms. No consensus has yet been reached in the government on the planned pension, health, social insurance, local government, and education systems. The exchange rate policy, which has been predictable, is not a good example because the Hungarian National Bank makes the decision on this. The changes that I have listed are incisive issues, and the agreement of many sides, parliamentary and social forces, is needed before they can be accepted. The reform of state administration, because this is what we are talking about, should have been started a good 10 years ago; however, even now we cannot take abrupt measures: We must wait until conditions mature and until a minimal general agreement emerges. I am convinced that we will have a good and comprehensive tax system by the autumn, and the debate on the financing of local authorities will also be decided, whether the leveling of the various regions will be given greater emphasis or whether we remain with the current system of income sharing. The other reform steps can only be made in the more distant future; at most, only 10 percent of them can be implemented within the framework of the 1996 budget. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] The current society is often said to be semi-market economy and semi-democratic. [passage omitted] Society does not act in accordance with the plans made at the top of the political and economic power. Is it impossible for those preparing decisions in the Finance Ministry to avoid the hierarchy and work by directly probing the interests of the economy's participants and by continuing dialogue with them?

[Bokros] I agree with the statement that society does not always act as planned by the top political and economic power. However, it does not follow from this that those preparing the decisions should avoid the hierarchy and prepare the laws by having separate dialogues with the economy's participants. I do not dispute the fact that we should pay more attention to the real interest motivations of the economic players and take the ensuing behavior patterns into consideration. I consider dialogue with the professional federations, chambers, and trade unions very important. However, today, the division of interests is so strong that it is simply impossible to take all interests into account. Contradictory wishes are raised even in a single interest coordination council session between the trade unions and the employers' organizations. Therefore, it is often simply impossible to find the joint interests of the major social groups, on the basis of which the government could clearly see the employer and employee intentions or those of agriculture, the processing industry, or foreign and domestic companies. Every company, federation, person, and interest group that takes part in the forums has differing views. This way, it is very difficult to coordinate interests. It is also very complicated that coordination itself has to be done by the government because the civic society's own interest coordinating mechanisms are still immature. Despite these deficiencies, I consider it important to get to know and understand these behavior patterns, make their effects predictable, and to take them into account as much as possible in legislation. I would like to mention here that, in my view, the current level of legislation is excessive, laws are immediately requested for every new idea because no one trusts that a governmental or a Finance Ministry ruling can express the public will and social consensus. This practice makes the amendment of economic regulations slow. I do not dispute that a much more general and overall consensus is needed on social policy issues, at the same time, economic policy might require a reaction within a month or even within a day. [passage omitted]

[Gergely] How is it possible that an institution like the Szechenyi Library can become incapacitated due to a lack of funds, although there can be a big difference between the state of less money and no money? Can it be seen from the Finance Ministry that, going through a traditional bureaucratic distribution system, a smaller amount of budget grant can create the "no money" situation because portions are taken off from the previous amount of money at the various stages of the old structure, and the final destination indeed becomes poor?

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[Bokros] The internal management mechanisms of the institutional system have not changed at all in the past 10 years. Although I do not actually know the Szechenyi Library's internal conditions, the general situation probably also applies to it: A chronic lack of money goes side by side with wastefulness and inefficiency. [passage omitted] It has to be examined which budget institutions are needed at all, what actual tasks they have, and what staffing and money they need to perform these tasks. However, we have not even been able to reach the budgetary macro structure with the assessments and rationalization plans: The currently prepared budget is not actually a reform budget.

We have not been able to persuade the government to plan from the bottom up, with zero basis, and with the redrawing of tasks: Apart from one or two exceptions, all ministries fight tooth and nail for their status and their existing financial position. This way, it is possible that some ministries can work with twice as much money as what would be sufficient for the normal performance of their tasks, while other ministries should spend twice as much as they receive. The macro structure of the budget is going through a very minor change. Change can only be achieved if the prime minister decides in favor of radical reforms and, against the ministries, is able to force structural change, function analysis, and a redrawing of tasks. A Finance Ministry coordination mechanism can never achieve this because the Finance Ministry cannot compare a pear with an apple: It cannot say why, for example, the Foreign Ministry needs less money and the secret services need more. The two areas cannot be compared professionally, so this has to be decided politically by the prime minister. [passage omitted]

FKGP Adviser Views Opposition Alliance

AU2208095895 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Aug 95 p 8

[Interview with political scientist Bela Pokol by Gergely Nagy; place and date not given: "The Coalition Will Lose the Next Parliamentary Elections—Legal Philosopher Bela Pokol, Legal Adviser of the Smallholders Party Chairman Predicts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Political scientist and constitutional lawyer Bela Pokol has recently tried to steer three of the opposition parties into unity, and a few days ago, he announced that, as a nonparty member, he would be a personal adviser to Jozsef Torgyan [chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party, FKGP]. We interviewed Pokol on the reasons for his decision and on his views on the possibility of opposition cooperation in the near and more distant future.

[Nagy] You will be Torgyan's adviser as a nonparty member; this, nevertheless, means some obligations toward the FKGP. What considerations made you stand by Torgyan?

[Pokol] I have been watching the potential voting base of the opposition parties since late last year, and I found that the reasons people turn toward the opposition parties are very steady and will not change in the coming three years, either. For example, the increased popularity of the Smallholders is caused by the large degree of impoverishment, against which the FKGP very firmly raises its voice. I personally met Torgyan in March when we also discussed constitutional issues at length. During this conversation, he made a very favorable impression on me. The other reason that largely influenced my decision was that the FKGP is in the process of drawing up its political and economic program. They need an intellectual basis with serious professional background. I am one of the first ones, and although I do not wish to talk prematurely, I can tell you that a very serious group consisting of recognized experts is being formed.

[Nagy] The FKGP's draft constitution will obviously be one of the cornerstones of the program preparation. In your previous writings, you supported the notion of an extremely strong, chancellor-type prime minister, and you wanted to further limit the extent of authority of the republic's president. In contrast to this, the draft constitution prepared by Agnes Maczo contains the establishment of a very strong position for the president of the republic. How can the two plans be adjusted?

[Pokol] I maintain that an extremely strong position is needed at the head of the executive power in a transitional society like Hungary's just now. I was previously thinking in terms of a chancellor-prime minister, and to be honest, my views have indeed changed on this. One reason for this is that I have noticed that a very strong social consensus has emerged on the need for a strong presidential position. However, the essence of my view has always been that a strong statesman should be at the head of the executive power. From this point of view, it is secondary whether this person with broad authority will be the prime minister or president of the republic. It seems that Hungarian society would like a strong president of the republic, and if this is so, I can see no reason why this "strong statesman" should not be the president.

[Nagy] You emphasized the importance of cooperation between the opposition parties several times last year. From the FKGP's point of view, how do you now see the future cooperation of the four parties?

[Pokol] We have to accept it as a fact that the opposition is now split into two and it seems, for example, that

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the Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party does not at all wish to work together with the Smallholders. The Civic Alliance which has operated for a year and the recently formed National Alliance, which also includes small nonparliamentary parties, do create the conditions for cooperation which might later serve as starting points for a closer alliance. As for me, I can only see a closer cooperation possible with the approach of the 1998 elections. I believe it impossible for any one opposition party to be victorious at the 1998 elections and to be able to form a government without the other parties of the populist-national side.

[Nagy] Are you sure that the current government coalition will lose the elections?

[Pokol] I am. The main reason is that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] itself is being pulled apart by incredible internal forces. To mention but one example: Ivan Vitanyi [national committee chairman] and Sandor Nagy [chairman of National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions] are like fire and water. [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn's calmness shown in his statements is false. Relations within the MSZP are extremely strained. To this we have to add that the welfare situation is undoubtedly deteriorating and the effects of the Bokros package are still to come. The media, which is in the hands of the Alliance of Free Democrats, and circles close to it, will not be enough to prevent a reshaping of society's opinion. When people prosper, it is much easier to influence them through the media organs, but when their welfare situation deteriorates, it is impossible to hide the existing problems with the media's fabrications. To return to the previous question, another reason I am supporting the Smallholders' leader is that, in my view, Torgyan is the only opposition party leader who has the courage to fight against the liberal-held media even in the opponent's own court, namely through the various press organs.

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Sacirbegovic on U.S. Mission, Nation's Future

BR2108114295 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Aug 95 p 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Vanna Vannuccini in Sarajevo; date not given: "Bosnia Must Stay United"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo—[Vannuccini] Mr. Sacirbegovic, after 40 months of war is the division of Bosnia the only solution?

[Sacirbegovic] No, the U.S. plan envisages merely a few changes in comparison to the preceding Contact Group one. But we do not feel obligated to agree to it unless we get guarantees that it will work better than the previous one, both in terms of its implementation and in terms of what action will be taken if the Serbs reject it this time. We are continuing the talks based on the promise that the United States and NATO will give us those guarantees.

[Vannuccini] So, Bosnia will not be divided?

[Sacirbegovic] No. That is what we have been promised. The plan does not envisage any constitutional setup entailing the division of Bosnia into two separate sovereign states.

[Vannuccini] So, in that case, why are people talking of corridors, for instance between Sarajevo and Bihac?

[Sacirbegovic] Inside the country there is obviously a division based on the fact that two armies have not resolved their differences on the battlefield. In our view, the army of Pale remains guilty of genocide and the most horrendous crimes carried out in order to cleanse the territories of non-Serb inhabitants. Of course, we have many doubts as to how a compromise with this army can work. But there is nothing in the plan allowing the Serbian side sovereignty. It will have to remain an integral part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whether it is part of the Union [LA REPUBBLICA capitalization] or whether it is an autonomous region. We think that the world should not reward ethnic cleansing by endorsing it. But it is a delicate balance: how to strike an agreement with war criminals without rewarding them? The accord is in itself a reward, and maybe even an encouragement. But if the United States, NATO, and the Islamic countries help us not only to implement the plan but also to defend ourselves, then in our view it is an option worth taking into consideration, especially since hitherto we have not even had the possibility of defending ourselves.

[Vannuccini] So, it is a compromise that does not omit the prospect of rebuilding a multiethnic Bosnia in the future?

[Sacirbegovic] The old Bosnia has disintegrated in the war; what we are trying to do is to preserve a framework so that it can be rebuilt in the future. That cannot be done today. Our generation has succeeded in ensuring Bosnia's survival; it has defended its citizens from genocide. It will be the next generation's task to continue along the path toward integration. In that sense, Bosnia's future is still uncertain. But I do not think there can be another path. It is a new experiment, this striking a political compromise with fascism to see whether it will be possible to overcome it with peaceful, economic, and social means, and all the means that peace will make available to us. But it is also a dangerous experiment; a fascist regime will always be more inclined toward war than toward peace.

[Vannuccini] What guarantees do you expect from the international community?

[Sacirbegovic] The best guarantees are those which we will be able to give ourselves. Be that as it may, from a military viewpoint, we expect NATO to support the plan's implementation. In the future, however, we should be able to defend ourselves, to become self-sufficient, in order to set up a deterrent against those who may decide, in a few years, that the international community's attention has waned and that the time has come to destroy Bosnia. Politically, it is important that Bosnia should remain intact as a single country and that resistance against the Nazi idea of ethnic cleansing should be acknowledged in some way. Finally, from an economic viewpoint, I believe that the economy can play an important role in promoting unity. By that I mean that the Bosnian state should become self-sufficient, in some ways a model capable of attracting the Serbs as well, not a weak entity vulnerable to Serbian pressure. That entails, for instance, membership in the IMF and the World Bank, a solution to the deficit problems, and a concrete plan for reconstruction. In a few years people will be looking more toward the future than toward the past. History is almost always the result of a leadership [word in English], and in a process of this kind a fascist leadership could end up losing its legitimacy. Not all the Serbs wanted a war; they were dragged into it by Karadzic and Mladic. The best guarantee for the future, therefore, is that people like Karadzic and Mladic be required to answer for their crimes in the courts. For the good of their own people.

[Vannuccini] How much confidence do you have in the Croat-Bosnian Federation?

[Sacirbegovic] Logic forces me to have confidence in it, because it is a strategic alliance born of kindred interests. These strategic interests are clear both on a military and on a political level. Zagreb and Sarajevo

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form a new core. Previously, Serbia was always the core of the Balkans and everbody had to refer to Belgrade. But Zagreb on its own is not sufficient to oppose Belgrade. And a divided Bosnia is a weak partner for Zagreb, indeed it would weaken Croatia itself. I do not believe that it is to Croatia's advantage, once it has recovered its own territorial unity, to swallow up a piece of Bosnia and thus become an agressor. You may object that it could do so out of nationalism. That is what happened with Serbia. But there is much mistrust between Serbia and Croatia. One of the main reasons which started the war, in my view, is that there has been no transition from communism to an open economic system in Serbia, that the Army and the bureaucratic administration have moved from communist to fascist totalitarianism. In Croatia, on the other hand, important steps have been made in this economic and political transition. So why move backward?

[Vannuccini] Are you sure that Gorazde will remain in the Bosnian state?

[Sacirbegovic] I am sure to the extent that our government is determined not to give it up and the Americans have told us that they will not ask us to.

[Vannuccini] Is the withdrawal of UN troops from Gorazde a threat or a guarantee?

[Sacirbegovic] I believe that the United Nations acts solely in its own interests and for its own survival. The Bosnians have always been the last to be taken into consideration. Of course, the announcement has come at the wrong time.

[Vannuccini] Have you lost all faith in Europe?

[Sacirbegovic] To be honest, we have lost faith in everybody. The only thing we count on is that Bosnia has become a strategic problem today, a problem of credibility for NATO and the United Nations, and a political debating arena for the world's various religious and political interests. But that is a handicap, too, because while we continue to fight for a pluralistic and multicultural Bosnia, some people want to redefine us as a problem of the Islamic world against the Western world. Actually, our true definition is that of an open society against a closed one. The West has not sufficiently understood that this is also in its strategic interests. It has not understood that what looks like idealism is, rather, the real basis of the political order, that genocide is not a noble idea but a law, and that when the institutions lose the citizens' trust it is not easy to win it back [sentence as published].

Sacirbegovic, Zotov Disagree on Parts of U.S. Plan

AU2108190195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Muhamed Sacirbegovic met today in Zagreb Russian representative Aleksandr Zotov. After the meeting Sacirbegovic said:

We discussed the Russian viewpoints concerning the U.S. peace initiative. Zotov said that Russia supported most of its main elements, but appeared unwilling to accept possible measures to exert pressure on the Serb side. I said that this was one of the main elements. We do not (?favor) continuing war, because we are asking that the arms embargo be lifted and that NATO acts more forcefully, but rather to avoid the repetition of what happened a year ago, when the Serbs in Pale and Belgrade refused the peace plan as they believed that they could easily freeze the situation on the ground, Muhamed Sacirbegovic said following his talks with Aleksandr Zotov.

Pejanovic, Slovene Ambassador Discuss Relations

AU2208120695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The main topics of the talks today between Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and chairman of the Serbian Civic Council, and Drago Mirosic, ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, were the [word indistinct] initiative for solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, strengthening bilateral relations, and coordinating Slovenia's humanitarian actions in help to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was asserted that there are wide-ranging opportunities for bilateral cooperation between the two friendly countries, particularly in the economic sphere. The Slovene ambassador pointed out that the Slovene economy's operations in our country are encouraging: In the first five months this year, goods worth about $38 million were exported to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ambassador Mirosic pointed out. According to him, this is a good basis for developing economic relations which [word indistinct] depend on the end of the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ministry Urges Clearer Policy on Air Strikes

AU2108173695 Paris AFP in English 1722 GMT 21 Aug 95

[Report by Diane Bartz]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 21 (AFP)—The United Nations on Monday [21 August] brushed

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aside Bosnian protests over the unanswered shelling of Gorazde, and sources said there would be no UN reaction unless the safe area was on the verge of being overthrown. There were also two civilians killed in shelling in the Bihac region, but outside the town itself, which is the UN-declared safe area. [passage omitted]

The Bosnian Government has complained bitterly that the United Nations has done too little to live up to its pledge to protect the 60,000 residents and refugees from outlying areas living in Gorazde. Foreign Ministry spokesman Mirza Hajric said Monday that he feared the United Nations would not act until it was too late. "I personally would like it to be much clearer: If this happens, that would be the response. (I would like) a clearer line of threat," he told AFP. [passage omitted]

Also Monday, Antonio Pedauye, the civilian head of the peacekeeping troops in Bosnia, met in Pale with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, a UN spokeswoman said. It was not immediately known what they discussed.

Despite repeatedly taking tough positions over the past several weeks, the United Nations seems to be losing interest in protecting the Gorazde enclave. [passage omitted]

UN Reportedly Considering Withdrawal From Bihac

AU2208103795 Paris AFP in English 0955 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 22 (AFP)—The United Nations is considering withdrawing its peacekeepers from the Moslem enclave of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia, a UN source said Tuesday.

The daily newspaper OSLOBODENJE reported Tuesday that the 1,249 peacekeepers from Bangladesh would be withdrawn in October.

Asked about the report, a UN official speaking privately, said: "It is under consideration, yes."

The news comes four days after the United Nations announced it was pulling its forces out of Gorazde, a Moslem enclave in the east of the country.

The official said that the military situation in Bihac had changed recently, making the peacekeepers less necessary.

The Bosnian Army and a few Bosnian Croat forces recently broke out of the Bihac pocket. And Croatian troops have crossed into Bosnia and are pressing separatist Bosnian Serbs from the west.

UN: 11,098 Non-Serbs Cleansed From Banja Luka

AU2108144695 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 21 (AFP)—The number of Croats and Moslems who have left the northern Serb-held area of Banja Luka in the latest paroxysm of "ethnic cleansing" has risen to 11,098, the United Nations said Monday [21 August].

That includes 2,480 Moslems, most of whom crossed on August 18 and 19, said Kris Janowski, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

The most recent wave of expulsions began on August 14, with Bosnian Serb officials ordering minority Croats and some Moslems to register at central stations and then busing them about 50 kilometers (30 miles) north to two spots at the Sava River.

There they boarded small, decrepit boats and crossed into Croatia, which has been reluctant to accept them.

"One reason is accommodation, the camps are actually full," said Janowski. "We still think that these people should be somehow allowed in and accommodated."

"We want these people to get out of (the) Banja Luka region," he said. "They have lost their housing. Their further remaining would be simply dangerous and they should leave as soon as possible."

The Banja Luka region's prewar population had included 624,840 Serbs, 355,956 Moslems and 180,593 Croats, according to a 1991 census. Thousands fled in the first wave of ethnic cleansing three years ago and about 5,000 left in the first half of the year.

Between 12,000 and 15,000 Croats remained as of early August, the UNHCR has estimated.

Impact of War, Refugee Influx Felt in Tuzla

95BA0315B Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 31 Jul 95 p 5

[Article by Peter Seunig: "Tuzla a Bosnian Ghetto"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tuzla is one of the few cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina where the coexistence of different peoples has not yet reached apocalyptic dimensions.

Nevertheless, the constant influx of refugees is a serious burden on the city, economically and socially, and the antagonisms between urban and rural inhabitants become more obvious every day. Because of the numerous refugees, the city is overcrowded, and its infrastructure is overburdened. The number of inhabitants has almost doubled because of the war. According to the city administration's data, before the war the city

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had 130,000 inhabitants (including the suburban settlements). Because of the influx of refugees, in recent days primarily from Srebrenica, there are at least 200,000 inhabitants.

Most of the city quarters have water for only a few hours a day. The supply of electricity is still fairly good, if we discount occasional blackouts. The same thing applies to the removal of trash in the center of the city. A considerable number of humanitarian organizations are providing medical care, in addition to the public hospitals. Many enterprises and industrial shops are closed, and the Blue Helmets are housed in their own buildings, primarily outside the city.

Tuzla has felt the war less than many other cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There were armed conflicts in this city only on 15 May 1992. At that time there was heavy fighting upon the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army. Occasional Serbian artillery shelling causes some damage, but is less intensive than in Sarajevo. In spite of this, clear signs of the tempests of war can be seen on numerous buildings: perforated facades, broken windows, and open roofs. Not only the 19th century middle-class houses in the center of the city and the large apartment blocks are affected, but also the library and the city hospital, for example. The consequences of the war can be seen primarily in the inhabitants. They have a harsh winter behind them, which was accompanied by hunger because the city was cut off from the surrounding area. People's mood has changed several times with the years. First of all enthusiasm prevailed, then indifference, and now more and more outrage can be observed in everyday life. People are exhausted and incensed by the war, especially those who have not been able to leave the city for a long time now, either for reasons of safety or because of a lack of money. They have realized that the war is not only changing them, but also their friends and neighbors. They talk about unimportant people who have suddenly become rich, and about well-known intellectuals who root through garbage for scraps of food.

Along with the mental exhaustion, economic collapse is also occurring. Many industrial shops have already ceased operation, and Tuzla, in the former Yugoslavia one of the more important industrial cities with mines and salt reserves, has approached the level of economic development of Third World countries. The "gray" economy is expanding more and more. Numerous people are surviving by selling on the sidewalks what is still left to them: shoes, books, lighters, cameras, and radios. Many children beg in front of the hotel where foreign reporters stay.

The uncertain living conditions affect people in completely different ways. Some people replace broken glass and paint their houses; others are already giving up and taping the broken glass with adhesive tape or putting plastic and cardboard in the window frames. The numerous refugees crowding into Tuzla, mostly women, are not resolving the tense situation. They need a great deal of room, and their presence is creating social tension. Peasant women who come from remote villages naturally have a hard time adjusting to city life. Many of them do not know how to read or write, and do not have any occupation. They are alone with their children, because their husbands are in the army, prisoners, or among the missing. The International Red Cross and 15 nongovernmental organizations have succeeded in alleviating hunger and epidemics. In a large camp at the Tuzla airport, there are several small reception centers for 100 to 400 refugees. The numerous new refugees could be handled only because the regional authorities were prepared for that situation and because of abundant foreign assistance.

They are also carrying out various projects that are supposed to help the women to train for various occupations, and not just wait for humanitarian aid. The peasant women are therefore learning new occupations, from sewing and hairdressing to working with computers.

The third category of Tuzla's population consists of the "internationals," the Blue Helmets (more than 1,000 men and women from Sweden, Norway, and Pakistan), and many members of foreign humanitarian organizations. They live separately in hotels and special settlements.

The Blue Helmets are housed outside the city. Their presence has not brought peace to Tuzla. That is also recalled by a wooden plaque recalling the massacre on 25 May 1995, in which a Serbian shell killed 71 people of all nationalities, and wounded 140.

Weekly: Diplomacy Depends on Military Success

AU2108170295 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 24

[Commentary by Adisa Busuladzic: "Minor Modifications of a Policy That Has Already Failed"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Marshall Plan for Bosnia

As the U.S. Administration representatives present the Security Council with pictures of mass murders of Bosniaks in Srebrenica, Anthony Lake and the representatives of the State Department are offering a picture of mass exile from the last eastern enclave of Gorazde. According to the U.S. Administration's new plan, Gorazde

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would be given to the Serbs in exchange for "much more valuable territory around Sarajevo," as officials put it. To persuade both sides to accept the plan, the Serbs are to be promised the lifting of economic sanctions and our government is being offered a mini Marshall Plan and postwar economic aid. The United States and their Western allies would also help develop our military strength "to provide a successful defense of the new Bosnian borders." If the Serbs reject the plan, the plan predetermines "the lifting of the arms embargo against the Bosniaks and allied air strikes on Serb targets. If the Bosniaks reject the plan, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] will withdraw and leave them to their own devices."

If it is accepted, the plan will replace the UN forces with NATO forces, consisting of U.S. soldiers.

The Americans know that this plan is almost two years old, but that it has not been considered until recent developments, including the Croatian offensive in the Krajina, the rift in the leadership of the Pale Serbs, as well as the fall of the eastern enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa, because now it would take fewer NATO, i.e. U.S., soldiers, to control and fortify the Bosnian territory. At the same time, officials admit that they do not yet know what the real chances of success are of the latest peace plan. "It is quite likely that the European allies do not see eye to eye on all elements of the plan, so the United States could undertake some independent action on the diplomatic scene with regard to that."

Anthony Lake, who is not on the best of terms with the State Department and is said to be simply taking advantage of the summer break and the fact that top State Department officials, such as Holbrooke and Talbot, are on holiday and Warren Christopher is touring Asia, is pushing his ideas, which have not so far been widely supported by Washington. What Lake represents on his tour of Europe and the Clinton administration refers to as "the former position of the West strengthened by much more intensive diplomatic effort of the United States," Senator Bob Dole, leader of the Republican majority and the architect of the resolution on the unilateral lifting of the arms embargo on the Bosnian Government, characterized as "minor modifications of a policy that has already failed." Reacting to the criticism of political analysts that the resolution on the lifting of the arms embargo does not offer protection from Serb attacks during the withdrawal of UNPROFOR, and until the weapons come to Bosnia, he proposed that $50 million in financial aid and $50 million in equipment and payment for officers who would teach the Bosnian soldiers how to use the new weapons, be given to the Bosniaks. The Senate is expected to vote on the issue in September.

Contradictory U.S. Initiative

This invigorated and contradictory U.S. policy has, no doubt, been spurred on by a sudden change in the balance of forces in the Balkans after the latest Croatian actions. Although the United States is trying to make it seem as though it were in control of the situation, it was taken by surprise by the power of the Croatian Army and that their ambassador in Croatia cannot do anything but help monitor developments. What the Americans are supposed to be most worried about is the fate of the Bosniaks, especially after the surfacing of a map of divided Bosnia drawn by Tudjman on a London banquet menu almost three months ago.

Political commentators recall that the Croatian president is likely to "take a bite out of" Bosnia under the circumstances, just as he used a croissant and a napkin to create a Croatian roll at the 1993 New Year's reception for reporters. It was the Bosniaks from Herzegovina and central Bosnia who paid the bill later on. The United States and the Western allies could, of course, restrain Tudjman, especially since Croatia has been craving economic aid and membership of European economic and political institutions for a long time. People say it is up to the United States to see to it that Tudjman's latest victory does not become the overture to a new tragedy. The control exerted by the United States over the behavior of Croatia could, in our case, be used as the proverbial stick that would force us to accept the new plan and new borders. Either small Bosnia or greater Croatia and Serbia.

What else can we do? Fight and fight again. For if we have learned a lesson from the past events, it is that we have realized that diplomacy is neither capable of nor ready to do anything but draw new maps, depending on the situation on the ground, i.e., depending on what we accomplish by means of weapons while leading diplomats are away on holiday.

Croatian Army Shells Villages in Trebinje Area

LD2208120695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 22 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bileca, Aug. 22 (TANJUG)—Croatia's regular army units resumed shelling Tuesday villages in the area of Trebinje, a town in the south of the Bosnian Serb Republic, Serb military sources said.

Croatia's troops are using heavy howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, and big-calibre mortars, the communique specified.

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Serb sources said Serb troops in Herzegovina had responded to shelling by Croatia's regular army units with the shelling of strictly military targets.

Strong artillery duels continue on the Herzegovina front, between Trebinje and Dubrovnik, but there are no infantry attacks, the communique said.

Karadzic Warns About Attacks

AU2108205095 Paris AFP in English 2038 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic made his first television appearance Monday [21 August] since weekend reports that he had been arrested, and called the rumors of his replacement nothing more than enemy propaganda. He also expressed optimism about the U.S. peace initiative, despite the fact that discussions on it have been delayed, at least, by the deaths of three top U.S. envoys Saturday as they arrived in Sarajevo.

"It could be that everyone agrees on the need to end the war except Moslems, who want the war. So the Serb position is that war has to be ended immediately and we will be cooperative, flexible but in accordance with the Serb national interests," he said in an appearance on Bosnian Serb television.

The plan, he said, was better than preceding ones because it acknowledges that Serbs hold the majority of Bosnian territory, although the percentage has slipped in recent weeks from about 70 percent to 65 percent because of military offensives from Croatia, the Bosnian Croats, and the Bosnian Army.

"The international community finally came to the conclusion that if they want to end this crisis, they can do it only if they consider the new reality and that the reality is that Serbs control a certain percentage of the territory," he said. "And they have to agree with the Serbs because it's impossible to find a solution without the Serbs," he said.

The Bosnian Serb leader referred darkly to unnamed enemies who worked a propaganda campaign to oust him, describing them only by saying "some of them are Serbs. They are trying to create tension between the political leadership and the military command. That situation could upset and frighten the people and make them leave their homes. It's a war of disinformation," he said.

Karadzic tried to fire his military commander, General Ratko Mladic, recently but was overruled by the rest of his military command and forced to back down. In general, Mladic has a better relationship with the Serbs' sponsors in Belgrade than does Karadzic. Both men have been indicted by the international criminal court for the ex-Yugoslavia in the Hague for war crimes.

Asked about Dubrovnik, a Croatian town on the sea coast that could be the next flashpoint, Karadzic said: "If they attack Trebinje, they will regret it," referring to a Bosnian town from which the Bosnian Serbs have been occasionally shelling Dubrovnik. "And I think some of the international institutions will stop them."

'Provocations' Reported From Una-Sana Canton

AU2208100095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Aug 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The (?joint) aggressors are not giving up sudden terrorist attacks with long-range artillery against towns and settlements of the Una-Sana Canton. Cazin and the region around it are exposed to the fiercest enemy artillery attack. The aggressors launched several destructive howitzer and gun shells on the town and they (?killed) three civilians and several were seriously or slightly wounded. Fresh serious material damage has been caused. These attacks are being launched from the general area of (Radic) and the occupied parts of Bosanska Krupa.

Although it is somewhat calmer today, numerous provocations with infantry arms and snipers have been registered along front lines here and there is occasional tank and artillery fire on the front defense lines of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Today, the hotbeds of conflict are still on the Grmec Mountain, (Turski Kozjen), and Hrgar, although the enemy is not quiet on other sections of the front either, and is bringing in new reinforcements, in fact Martic's Chetniks were forced to return from Vojvodina and Serbia, as well as parts of the so-called Serb Republic.

Croats Maintain Pressure on Serbs in West

AU2108202595 Paris AFP in English 1953 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 21 (AFP)—The Croatian Army kept up the pressure on Bosnian Serbs in western Bosnia Monday [21 August], while Bosnian Government forces hit the separatists in the north, according to media and UN reports.

Croatian Armed Forces pressed Bosnian Serbs in western Bosnia near the Serb-held towns of [Bosanski] Petrovac and Drvar and the Croatian-held towns of [Bosansko] Grahovo and Glamoc inside the Bosnian border, Bosnian Serb radio reported from their stronghold in Pale in the hills outside Sarajevo.

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Serb forces have been progressively pushed to the east in the area by Croatian forces, fresh from defeating Croatian Serbs early this month. Their hope is to link up with Bosnian Government forces coming from the east.

Grahovo and Glamoc were taken in July by Croatian forces shortly before Zagreb's successful offensive against the Krajina Serbs.

The United Nations could not confirm reports of the fighting inside the Bosnian border.

But Christopher Gunness, a UN spokesman in Zagreb, said: "In the past week, we have seen troops and equipment moving across the border, so it's entirely consistent with that."

In the north, Bosnian Serb radio reported that the Bosnian Army attacked at Doboj, a Serb pocket in northern Bosnia. Seven civilians were injured in a morning artillery attack, the radio reported. [passage omitted]

In the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, three people were wounded by shelling, official Bosnia-Herzegovina television reported. Shells hit in the downtown and old town area in the eastern part of the Bosnian capital on Monday afternoon.

Serb Military Activities Near Sarajevo Reported

AU2208112495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center reports on the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor and Karadzic's Chetniks stepping up their military activities in the theater of operations of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, particularly on the Sarajevo front. Apart from performing additional engineering works, the aggressor was noticed to be massing troops and military hardware in the region of Ilidza. More than 60 kinds of vehicles have arrived in this region. Karadzic's terrorists yesterday continued shelling civilian targets in the city as well. With a dozen mortar bombs, the aggressor targeted the regions of Kobilja Glava and around Kozja Cuprija. Jevrejsko Groblje and the region of Hrastova Glava were also exposed to aggressor's artillery attacks.

The fighters of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are holding all defense lines under firm control, ready at any moment not to allow any Chetnik surprise, it is said in the announcement issued by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Artillery, Infantry Attacks on Bihac Continue

AU2108100895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 95

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is still no peace in the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps and the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac (?Headquarters). The joint aggressors continue fierce artillery, tank, and infantry attacks on our defense positions at Grmec Mountain, around Bosanska Krupa, and the general region of [name indistinct] and (Hrgar). Our Army fighters have successfully rejected the enemy's many infantry assaults. All defense positions are under full control of the 5th Corps.

The aggressor continued attacking settlements and villages on the territory of Bihac, Cazin, and Bosanska Krupa municipalities. Two little girls have been killed and several civilians seriously or slightly wounded from howitzer shells in Cazin.

Croats, Muslims Shell Petrovac Serbs

LD2108154995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Petrovac, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—Croatian army and Bosnian Muslim forces Monday shelled again the Petrovac area in the Bosnian Serb Republic, in the west of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In this fourth attack in the past eight days, the enemy artillery fire was again directed on civilian targets, causing heavy material damage, Serb military sources report.

General alert is in force in the Petrovac municipality and the population is in shelters.

The attack was launched from the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, occupied by Croatian Army in the beginning of August, and from the areas in southwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina which were occupied earlier.

Karadzic: U.S. Plan Must Accept 'New Realities'

LD2208094695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0013 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (SRNA)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, said this evening [21 August] that the use of misleading information and other special war methods is part of attempts being made to keep the Serb Republic leadership out of the negotiating process. Speaking

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in the Serb Television main newscast, Dr. Karadzic said that rumors and disinformation, such as the ones about an alleged military coup and territory exchanges, were designed "to encourage all our enemies who have so far had no success, either on the battlefield or at the negotiating table, to take away from us what is ours. The number of our opponents is large and, unfortunately, includes Serbs from some other Serb lands. This is a particular aspect of the special war designed to cause tensions and confusion," the president said, and to illustrate his point cited attempts to create "artificial tensions" between the political leadership and the Army, despite the subsequent decision to delay the reorganization of the Serb Republic's Army General Staff.

The president said he is sad to see that "some left-wing elements have joined the campaign by spreading various rumors among the soldiers". "This must be condemned and nipped in the bud," Dr. Karadzic insisted.

Explaining the reasons why Belgrade is using its state media to exert pressure on the Serb Republic leadership, President Karadzic said:

"There are two reasons. First, by their noise they are trying to conceal their feeling of guilt over the fall of the western part of the Republic of Serb Krajina, and second, they are trying to isolate the Serb Republic leadership to prevent it from taking part in the negotiating process."

Dr. Karadzic said that "to this end, ideas are being spread about the military command, or rather, General Mladic or some other officers, who are weaker," but added that "anyone who thinks that the Army will accept something that is unacceptable to us is grossly mistaken. First, the Assembly would not endorse it, and second, the Army itself is no softer when it comes to our basic interests," Dr. Karadzic said. He went went on to add that everything concerning the Supreme Command has been resolved, and that cooperation between him and General Mladic is good.

The Serb Republic president denied reports that the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could be crossed only with Gen. Mladic's permission, and said that Gen. Mladic himself "gave assurances that he had never insisted on this." Dr. Karadzic said that the people must be able to recognize rumors and fight them as hard as possible.

Asked about alleged territory deals, for instance, bartering the western part of Serb Sarajevo or Trebinje, the Serb Republic president said:

"Any rumors about a piece of territory being bartered are inevitably followed by an offensive. Rumors are designed to weaken the alertness and determination of our troops and to make it easier for the enemy to advance. Nothing has been or will be bartered. It is all pure fabrication." The Serb Republic president predicted fresh successes for the Serb troops in liberating the parts of the republic under temporary occupation.

"Stories about the Croatian soldier had to be retracted the moment I came across our soldiers near Drvar, where at least 70 Croats were killed," Dr. Karadzic said. He is confident that a military victory would secure a favorable negotiating position for the Serb Republic.

Speaking about the latest American initiative to regulate [regulisati] the conflict peacefully, President Karadzic said that the initiative could succeed only if the new realities are taken into account. These are: The Serbs want to defend their territories, to liberate some, and they also want a link with Serbia.

"The international community has its own rhythm, which it follows. It wants to preserve the idea of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union. We can talk about this, but the full sovereignty for our people as a basis for self-determination is not negotiable," Karadzic said.

"However, I must say that the international community's main preoccupation now is to ensure that we are excluded from the negotiations. This is no good. No one can negotiate on our behalf since we have to go before our assembly and our people with it," Karadzic said. [sentence as received]

Referring to statements about the war ending soon, the president said that although there are some encouraging signs, his message to the troops is: "You must behave as if there is no end to the war."

"The Serb soldier must fight to defend our borders until the peace process is set in motion. The situation in the field is of decisive and crucial importance," Dr. Radovan Karadzic said in conclusion.

Buha: World Not Interested in 'Hurting Serbs'

AU2108185995 Paris AFP in English 1837 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leaders met Monday [21 August] with Antonio Pedauye, the civilian head of the peacekeeping troops in Bosnia, in Pale, the Bosnian Serb stronghold in the hills outside Sarajevo, Bosnian Serb radio reported. Some of the discussion focused on the U.S. peace initiative, which was dealt a serious blow Saturday when three key members of a U.S. delegation were killed in a road accident on the notorious Mount Igman road outside the Bosnian capital.

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Aleksa Buha, who acts as the Bosnian Serb foreign minister, seemed optimistic about the U.S. peace initiative in comments after meeting with Pedauye, according to Pale Radio based in the hills outside Sarajevo. "(German Foreign Minister Klaus) Kinkel said that corrections of the map will be painful, and I believe it doesn't concern our side," he said.

"I don't believe that the international community is still interested in hurting the Serbs. I think that a political solution is coming and it will finally respect the Serb side," he added, according to Pale radio.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, whose political future seems to be questionable since a failed attempt to fire his army commander, made no comment after the meeting.

Before meeting with Karadzic, Pedauye held a separate meeting with Nikola Koljevic, responsible for Bosnian Serb relations with the United Nations, to discuss the problem of feeding Sarajevo, surrounded by Bosnian Serbs except for the dangerous Mount Igman route, the radio reported. Bosnian Serbs regularly target UN and relief convoys that feed the capital, along with a tunnel used to bring in black market goods. No progress appeared to have been reached in that portion of the meeting, Pale radio reported.

Krajisnik Praises Various Peace Efforts

BR2108132495 Madrid ABC in Spanish 21 Aug 95 p 24

[Unattributed report: "President of Serbian 'Assembly' Praises Solana"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, Assembly president of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Republic said yesterday that [Spanish] Foreign Minister Javier Solana's mediation on behalf of the EU was "exemplary in its impartiality." Last Friday Solana concluded a negotiating trip through Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia, in his capacity as president of the Council of Ministers of the EU's 15 member countries.

"We are very interested in Spain's activity in our republic. Spain's representatives in the United Nations and its humanitarian organizations are behaving very properly, particularly in our southern region," Krajisnik said. Nevertheless, according to Krajisnik, the EU and the other European countries, headed by the United States and Germany, are on the defensive.

Karadzic's Man

Krajisnik, who is considered a trusted follower of Bosnian Serb civilian leader Radovan Karadzic, who is not being obeyed by his military staff, held talks a few days ago with UN negotiator Thorvald Stoltenberg and UN [as published] negotiator Carl Bildt. He did not wish to reveal anything about the contents of the talks, but he stressed that the Bosnian Serbs rejected the possibility of becoming part of a united Bosnia with Sarajevo as its capital, and he repeated that they required a sovereign state.

"We are approaching the peace process on the basis of the rejection of Bosnia's existence. We only accept a Croatian-Muslim federation and a Serb Republic," Krajisnik stated. According to this politician, the Bosnian Serb territorial claims still include an outlet to the sea and the enclave of Gorazde, as well as broadening the Posavina corridor, which unites the Serbian territories in the extreme southeast and northwest of Bosnia with Serbia.

Krajisnik did not know what sort of peace plan would be submitted to the Muslims, Croats, and Bosnian Serbs on the basis of the current U.S. initiative, but he was hoping that what was currently only an outline would eventually be implemented in practice. Krajisnik said he was "pleasantly surprised" by the 12-point plan published last Friday by Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslim president, Alia Izetbegovic.

Praise Also for Izetbegovic

"We could not expect anything better from our enemies," Krajisnik said, and he particularly praised Izetbegovic's willingness to solve the issue of the status of Sarajevo, the town being fought over by governmental forces and the Bosnian Serbs. He stated that it was utopian to demand that the old Bosnia-Herzegovina retain the "Communist" borders it had within former Yugoslavia, given that, in his view, this war resulted from the wish of Muslims and Croats (61 percent of Bosnia's population) to separate from Socialist Federal Yugoslavia.

He argued that "we must forget the Contact Group's maps" which were formerly proposed by Germany, France, Britain, United States, and Russia, and which gave the Bosnian Serbs 49 percent of the territory. He believes that a Croatian-Muslim federation is impossible because, according to him, what both ethnic groups want is to keep their distance from the Serbs.

RS To Be 'Very Cooperative'

AU2208073895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Aug 95 p 2

[FONET report: "Serb Republic Will Be Cooperative"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica—Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Serb Republic, yesterday told Montenegrin radio that, after everything that

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has happened on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, a political solution is close, and that the RS [Serb Republic] will be very cooperative. Commenting on the talks that he recently held in Geneva with international mediators Bildt and Stoltenberg, he said that the RS will, however, not agree to anything until the sanctions on Yugoslavia and the Krajinas have been lifted. This, he said, should also be demanded by Yugoslavia "since our current rift is being exploited by the enemies."

"We have proposed to the international mediators a new principle of delineation," Krajisnik said, adding that the principle involves the compactness of territories. "One should therefore create two states that are viable politically, economically, and militarily, and only then discuss percentages," he said. "At the end, the percentages must be such that they do not significantly endanger the RS nor the Muslim-Croat federation. But the Muslims, too, must be pressed to some extent by their mentors."

Commenting on the exchange of Gorazde for the area around Sarajevo, Krajisnik said: "We told the mediators that we do not insist on the exchange. If the Muslims want to stay on our territory, they can do so; they will enjoy all the rights. We think that such an initiative should come from the Muslims themselves. We will consider it, but will not allow any blackmail with regard to Sarajevo."

He said that there are good chances that the Serbs will get the corridor near Brcko widened to 20 kilometers. As for the Bosnian Serbs' exit to the sea, he said that an agreement on that with Tudjman already existed, although Tudjman could not be relied on. Krajisnik expects the international community to allow Serbs an exit to the sea. "Otherwise," he warned, "the Serbs retain the right to liberate the occupied parts of Trebinje."

RS Sets Conditions for Sarajevo Airport Talks

LD2108135395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (SRNA)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and president of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations, warned today that the problem of Sarajevo airport could be tackled as soon as humanitarian issues are clearly set apart from military issues.

After a meeting in Pale with Antoine Pedauye, head of the UN mission for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Koljevic specified that talks on the opening of Sarajevo airport could start when the Muslims stop misusing the tunnel under the runway and the Igman road for military purposes.

"The whole history of Igman, which the Serbs held and ceded to the United Nations in the interest of peace, led to a series of problems, and even tragic consequences," the vice president of the Serb Republic recalled. [passage omitted]

Humanitarian Situation Serious in Banja Luka

LD2108203395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1909 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—The humanitarian situation in Bosnian Serb Republic is very serious, especially in its western part where nearly 100,000 Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], as well as refugees from various parts of the Bosnian Serb Republic are temporarily accommodated.

Bosnian Serb Republic Commission for Refugees Official Slobodan Ecimovic told TANJUG that due to the unexpectedly large number of refugees from RSK, of whom nearly 70,000 are held up in the areas of Petrovac, Banja Luka, and Doboj, the modest stocks of humanitarian aid provided by local and international organizations were depleted quickly and that fresh aid was insufficient by far to cover the needs.

In addition to food and the basic items for survival of such a large number of homeless, the most severe shortage is felt as regards construction materials for housing repairs to provide more permanent accomodation to the displaced, Ecimovic said.

Ecimovic especially thanked the local offices of the International Committe of the Red Cross, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and Medecins Sans Frontieres [MSF—Doctors Without Borders], for their aid so far, and urged for greater quantity and diversity of relief.

Ecimovic said the MSF was lately the most active in shipping aid by helicopeter from Belgrade, but noted that these shipments can unfortunately cover only a part of the actual needs.

Krajina Soldiers Refuse To Return to Front Line

LD2108153295 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, Valjevo, 21 Aug (BETA)—A large group of men of fighting age from Krajina have been staying at Bijeljina's train station for the past few days as they are not allowed to enter Yugoslavia. Locals sources report about several hundred men "who for days have been waiting for permission to enter the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." They [the

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sources] have not revealed any further details about the future of this group.

The family members of the Krajina soldiers who are staying in Valjevo say that there are at least 1,000 men at Bijeljina train station who do not want to be sent back to the frontline. As the family members told BETA, the soldiers gathered in Bijeljina were sent back to Bosnia by the police from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The group in Bijeljina was promised, after it blocked the bridge over the Drina near Zvornik, a return to Serbia via Sid. The mobilized soldiers from Krajina have nevertheless been held up in Bijeljina. The Red Cross is providing food for them.

FRY Reportedly Bars Entry

LD2108140095 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 21 Aug (BETA)—Authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] have for four days now barred the entry into Yugoslavia to all men of age from the Bosnian Serb Republic, and the ban on entrance applies to the wounded and the sick too, Serb sources in Bijeljina claim.

The director of the Bijeljina hospital, Milivoje Kicanovic, today told SIM radio in Bijeljina that several sick and wounded people, who needed treatment in Belgrade hospitals, had been turned back at the border.

The radio claims that men of age can enter Yugoslavia only with a permission slip signed by General Ratko Mladic. However, it is almost impossible to obtain permission, local sources in Bijeljina say.

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Tudjman on Possible Partition, Eastern Slavonia

LD2108142595 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 19 Aug 95

[Interview with President Tudjman by Thierry Thuillier and Alain Saingt in Zagreb on 19 August; Tudjman in Croatian, with superimposed translation in French by Thuiller—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The Croatian president, Franjo Tudjman, exclusively received today one of our crews, Thierry Thuillier and Alain Saingt. As you will hear him say, the solution according to him is clear: It could lead to the partition of Bosnia.

[Thuiller] Since the successful offensive in Krajina, he has become a man to be reckoned with. Franjo Tudjman received us for the first time in his palace, and for the first time he spells out his opinion on the future development of the former Yugoslavia:

[Tudjman] The Americans are not against the fact that Bosnia, a UN member, remains within its present borders. But they hope that the Croatian-Muslim federation will be able to get closer to Croatia and that the Serbian side will do the same with Belgrade. I think that this solution is the only possible one to resolve the crisis, and the international community understands this.

[Thuiller] With the help of a map, Tudjman tried to defend his proposal to partition Bosnia. [video shows Tudjman holding a map of the former Yugoslavia].

[Tudjman] After all, I only recalled in London what NATO published in 1993. On this map, which comes from Brussels, there is a border line that goes through the center of Bosnia and which corresponds to the allocation of zones of influence to the east and west, dominated by the Russians, who would like to keep within their zone of influence all the Orthodox countries, including Serbia. Yes, I am ready to meet Slovobodan Milosevic, the Serb president, for I think normalized relations between the Serbs and the Croats are essential for peace. But I must say that I am not all that optimistic regarding a possible agreement.

[Thuiller] To the question about the executions that are reported to have been committed by the Croatian forces in Krajina, Franjo Tudjman answered:

[Tudjman] It is reported that Croatia engaged in ethnic cleansing, but this is not true because my government and myself appealed to the Krajina Serbs to remain where they were.

[Thuiller] Before leaving us, the Croatian president told us that if the U.S. initiative fails, Croatia would recapture eastern Slavonia and help the Muslims to continue their offensive in Bosnia.

Susak Meets Slovene Defense Minister in Split

LD2208123295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak held talks today at the Croatian Navy command in Split with Slovene Defense Minister Jelko Kacin and his assistants. Croatian Navy Commander Admiral Sveto Letica, and Colonel General Ante Gotovina, commander of the Split operational area, also attended the talks.

They discussed the Croatian Army's latest successes in Operation Storm, on which the Slovene minister congratulated the Croatian minister. He condemned the attacks on Dubrovnik, and stressed that these barbarous attacks do not just destroy Croatia's cultural heritage but also that of the whole world. He said he hopes peace will be restored in the area as soon as possible.

Minister Susak stressed that they have agreed on preparations for the agreement on military cooperation and that Croatia and Slovenia will exchange military attaches, probably by Christmas. As for the Dubrovnik area, Minister Susak stressed that the situation is being monitored and that further steps depend on how the situation develops.

Official Views Reactions to 'Operation Storm'

AU2008175095 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 95 pp 5-6

[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Ivo Sanader by Tihomir Dujmovic; place and date not given: "We Shall No Longer Negotiate With Carl Bildt!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Simultaneously with the military action of freeing the occupied territory, the recent days have been filled with very dynamic diplomatic activities. Dr. Ivo Sanader, deputy interior minister, revealed to us his impressions about the real diplomatic struggle that is going on.

[Dujmovic] What would be a global assessment of all diplomatic reactions to the military action?

[Sanader] Perhaps it is too early for a general assessment, but, if we analyze all diplomatic contacts, I would say that we can speak of three groups of reactions. In the first group I would put all those reactions that have expressed understanding both for our decision and the very conduct of our action, by which we have done nothing else except that we have established legal order in our territory. In that conditional classification, I could, for example, in this first group single out the reactions of Austrian President Thomas Klestil and Slovene Foreign

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Minister Thaler, who recently in a comprehensive interview also showed understanding for our action. Then there was also the reaction of U.S. President Bill Clinton, as well as those of U.S. Secretary of State Christopher and U.S. Defense Secretary Perry. Understanding has been shown by Albanian President Berisha, President of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina Izetbegovic, and a string of other statesmen, as well as several influential politicians from Germany. In the second group I would put reactions that are in a way tempered and restrained, which we expected. Among them, for instance, I could single out the presidential statement of the UN Security Council, as well as the statement issued by Minister Solana on behalf of the European Union. He expressed fear concerning the possible escalation into a large-scale war. Soon we can expect to hear the reaction of the Security Council, and we shall try to convince the responsible officials that there are no reasons for dramatizing. In the third group I would put statements that are absolutely unacceptable for us, simply because they are not objective. Such is the statement of Carl Bildt in the first place, and the initial statement of Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky, even though he modified his statement later on, as well as the statements of some other foreign politicians. In this phase it is important to say that the impression one gets from numerous bilateral meetings is that foreign representatives are showing the will and hope that this action will contribute to stabilization in the entire region. Just consider the impact of this action on Bosnia-Herzegovina, because Operation Storm is certainly a turning point with respect to Bosnia-Herzegovina, and now there is no doubt that the fate of the victims of the Serbian aggression will change. After this action one will certainly speak in a different way about the final settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Incomprehensible Nonsense

[Dujmovic] Let us get back to diplomatic reactions. The Italian Foreign Ministry was among the first to react to the address of President Tudjman, demanding an explanation of why he mentioned Italian fascism alongside Serbian fascism as a danger for Croatia.

[Sanader] Yes, that was one of the first reactions. We have explained what the president meant. He referred thereby to the attitude of some Italian newspapers that were even publishing interviews with leaders of the rebel Serbs, addressing them as president of state, or prime minister, without any reserve. On those occasions the Serbian side frequently spoke in terms of offering parts of Dalmatia. All that was done without any reserve, quotation marks, remarks such as so-called, and so forth. That was obvious recognition of both the occupation and the local rebel Serb authorities. Besides, there were many political talks between Italian politicians with representatives of the rebel Serb authorities. I am not saying that those were representatives of the Italian administration, but some deputies of the Italian Parliament were also present there. Besides, the Italian irredentists were quite eager to pay a visit to Knin under rebel Serbs, and discuss the partition of Croatia, and they have never denied or regretted those talks. So the president referred in his speech to such examples, rather than to official Italian policy. That is, official Italian policy has recognized Croatia in its internationally recognized borders since the very beginning, and in that respect it has always behaved correctly.

[Dujmovic] The statement of Carl Bildt has resounded particularly scandalously, for he called Tudjman a war criminal because of the military action! Has that statement been withdrawn or denied?

[Sanader] No, that statement has not been either withdrawn or denied. However, after such a really scandalous statement, the Croatian Government has made a decision according to which the cochairman of the international conference, Carl Bildt, has lost credibility for performing the duty of peace mediator, and Croatia objectively can no longer cooperate with him as a representative of the European Union.

[Dujmovic] What was the reaction of the Foreign Ministry immediately after that statement of Bildt's?

[Sanader] Minister Granic immediately sent a letter of protest to Mr. Bildt, and I publicly protested on two occasions as well, at the news conference and on the Croatian television, and we made our attitude quite clear. To all those reactions of ours the response of Mr. Bildt was even worse! At the meeting organized by the representative of the European Union, Bildt explicitly demanded that he be present at the meeting in Geneva, and he made even more severe comments on certain parts. In that context, we really cannot cooperate with him any longer.

[Dujmovic] How is it possible that after four years of Serbian aggression nobody has called the aggressors war criminals, while, when Croatia takes action to free its own occupied territory, it is, no more no less, the peace mediator who calls the president of the state whose one part has been occupied for precisely four years a war criminal?

[Sanader] Yes, that is incomprehensible! The peace mediator denounces the democratically elected president of our sovereign state, whose right to that part of the territory is recognized by all international documents, actually recognizing that we are the victim of Serbian

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aggression! That nonsense is all the worse as we know that President Tudjman always insisted on the peaceful policy of Croatia, despite the fact that he was often exposed to severe criticism on the internal political stage because of that, and reproached even by some parts of the ruling party and by many refugees as well! Over these four years tremendous pressure was being put on us to resolve that question militarily. It was possible to settle the issue militarily even earlier, and how early, I would not talk about that, but it was possible. However, it is precisely President Tudjman who, despite many criticisms, insisted on a peaceful solution, because he sincerely wanted that issue to be settled without any more victims. The international community and in particular the peace mediators know that quite well, and for that reason we are even more astounded at Bildt's statement.

Unacceptable Interpretations

[Dujmovic] Lord Owen was a representative of the international community for years, and he was extremely pro-Serbian. Thorvald Stoltenberg thinks that Muslims are actually Serbs, and even the origin of Croats is not quite clear to him as well. Bildt has been negotiating with Milosevic, who started this bloody war, for weeks, only to call Tudjman a war criminal! What is the policy of the international community all about, and did the Croatian diplomacy realize at the very beginning whom the international mediators favor?

[Sanader] From the very beginning we knew what the mood of the mediators was like, and in view of the fact that those are representatives of the international community, then it is clear how difficult conditions are in which we are diplomatically forging the Croatian state. Nevertheless, that is obviously part of diplomatic games as well, which only speaks for the fact that we have to spread the truth even more forcefully. Yet, not everything is so bleak. Even if the peace mediators have their own accounts or visions, the most important thing is that they have failed to accomplish any of their ideas that are disadvantageous for us.

[Dujmovic] Another severe statement has come from Chancellor Vranitzky. He has unusually severely condemned the Croatian military action.

[Sanader] From the very beginning, that is, from 1990, Chancellor Vranitzky had great disagreements with the former foreign minister, Alois Mock, over the policy on the Balkan crisis. Mock and the entire Foreign Ministry, as well as the president of Austria himself, had much greater understanding for our problems. If we look at Vranitzky's reactions and statements we can see that he, in a certain way, supported Yugoslavia's preservation. Today he is strongly reproaching Croatia for having decided to take things into its own hands, and after four years to terminate the occupation of a part of its territory. True, the chancellor later mitigated his initial statement, saying that he had referred chiefly to the humanitarian aspects of such an action, refugees and problems of alleged ethnic cleansing.

However, we find this explanation unacceptable as well. Since the beginning of the crisis the Croatian Government has been reassuring the Serbian people that their human and ethnic rights will be guaranteed. Before the start of the action, and even during it, every 30 minutes the message of President Tudjman was being aired on the radio, addressing precisely the citizens of Serbian nationality, asking them not to leave, to stay in their homes, and reassuring them that their rights will be guaranteed. Then how can one speak of ethnic cleansing now? People left because of the unbelievable anti-Croatian propaganda disseminated by the Serbian media and erstwhile barons in Knin, rather than because of the Croatian policy! As soon as the liberation of Grahovo and Glamoc began, organized evacuations of women and children already started! Nevertheless, even if we suppose that the chancellor is just sympathetic and that he is not fully familiar with the situation, the question arises why did he not react in the same way in 1991, when a real refugee crisis was really under way, when the Serbs expelled hundreds of thousands of Croats, Muslims, Czechs, Slovaks, and others from their homes in their own state? Therefore, we do not expect that foreign statesmen take our side, but we do expect them to be objective.

[Dujmovic] Why did Croatia at first so resolutely deny that there was any incident with the Danish Blue Helmets, only to admit later on that the incident did take place?

[Sanader] I would not say that we denied anything, or admitted it subsequently. It is just that we put off giving an answer until the entire issue was investigated. When the investigation was over, we recognized that there was an incident. We submitted our answer to the Danish Foreign Ministry, with an apology and our regret at the incident caused by one of our junior officers.

Regret at the Incident

[Dujmovic] Can it be said that the whole matter about the incident is somewhat overstated?

[Sanader] We did cause that incident, we apologized, and the man who is responsible for that will be punished. However, it seems as though everybody is deliberately ignoring the fact that our troops were given explicit instructions to be extremely careful about the lives of civilians and members of UNCRO [UN Confidence

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Restoration Operation in Croatia], which they were. As if somebody wants to make a parallel at any price with what the Bosnian Serbs did to UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], because it seems to me that so much attention paid to one incident is not accidental.

[Dujmovic] During the entire action two rumors that deserve particular attention were incessantly circulating, while some prominent foreign weeklies openly wrote about it. It is said that it is not a mere chance that eastern Slavonia was not attacked this time as well, which is to say, some people claim that the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina is becoming topical again, and that there are some arrangements in that regard.

[Sanader] There are no agreements or arrangements, either regarding eastern Slavonia and Baranja, or Prevlaka, which some are speculating about. I am not saying that the international mediators do not foster such ideas, but they have resolutely been rejected by the Croatian side. We simply do not intend to give up a single inch of Croatian territory under any conditions. The speculations about an agreement with Milosevic, which is allegedly being implemented now, we reject resolutely as well. Frankly, I find those speculations ridiculous. Why, during Operation Storm, some media were speculating that Bosnia is being partitioned again! They were writing about that at the moment when we were freeing Bihac! Such speculations have a single aim: to cause a breach in the cooperation between the Croats and the Muslims at any price. However, after this successful action. such rumors will not only not harm that cooperation, but I think they will also encourage the further implementation of the Split agreement. In which form and in which way, this will be the issue which we will discuss soon with a delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina led by President Izetbegovic, who is arriving in Zagreb precisely for that reason.

Rebic on Policy Toward Former Abdic Supporters

AU2108133595 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Aug 21 (AFP)—Croatia insisted Monday [21 August] that an estimated 25,000 Bosnian refugees camped near Zagreb would not be given asylum, but promised that none would be forcibly sent back to the Bosnian pocket of Bihac.

Adalbert Rebic, the head of Croatia's bureau for refugees, told journalists that the refugees "are living in unacceptable conditions and it is not possible to envisage their extended presence on the road to Vojnic because of the risk of epidemics."

The refugees, who supported the pro-Serb Moslem rebel leader Fikret Abdic, fled the town of Velika Kladusa when it fell to Bosnian Government forces earlier this month. They have since been blocked by Croatian tanks about 20 kilometres (12 miles) from the town and have assembled near Vojnic, refusing to return to Velika Kladusa citing fears for their safety. Vojnic is about 80 kilometres (50 miles) southeast of Zagreb.

The refugees are living in cars and buses strung out along about seven kilometres (four miles) of road.

The difference between "refugees and Abdic's folk is that the latter are not genuine refugees because they have homes to go back to in Bosnia. Their homes are almost undamaged," Rebic said.

Croatian authorities say they will not accept the refugees because an agreement signed by Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Abdic provides for their safe return and offers an amnesty for those Moslems who sided with Abdic.

These men fought for three years alongside the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia against Bosnian Government troops in the Bihac pocket in northwest Bosnia.

"We are counting on the influence of Mr. Abdic, who is now in Zagreb, to convince these people to go home," Rebic said.

He said that despite "all the efforts undertaken by Croatian officials, these people are scared of returning home for fear of reprisals."

But Rebic said they "will not be forcibly expelled from Croatia."

Croatia is now providing shelter to some 396,206 people: Croats displaced by Serb "ethnic cleansing" and Croats and Moslems driven from Bosnia. [passage omitted]

The Croatian and Bosnian foreign ministers discussed the fate of the refugees at a meeting Monday at Zagreb airport. "We have decided to intensify our joint efforts to get these refugees to return home," Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said.

The European Union on Sunday expressed strong opposition to any move by Croatia to repatriate Abdic supporters by force. "I know there is an agreement on their return, but I believe that a great many of these refugees do not want to go back to Velika Kladusa where they fear reprisals" (by the Bosnian Army), EU humanitarian affairs commissioner Emma Bonino told a press conference after visiting Vojnic. "From a humanitarian standpoint, we cannot accept the forced return of the refugees to Velika Kladusa," she said. She said she would insist that aid organisations be allowed access to the refugees.

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Commentary Views Prospects for U.S. Initiative

AU2108180195 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Nenad Ivankovic: "Too Little for Success"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Concerning the present American plan/initiative, what strikes one most is the unusual silence from Washington. After Lake's and Tarnoff's intense consultations with their European partners and Moscow, Washington has limited itself only to general issues, leaving the media and diplomatic lobbies to speculate on the details of the latest plan. The situation is still the same, after Holbrooke's talks with Bosnian Foreign Minister Sacirbegovic and his visit to Zagreb.

From that it can be concluded that there is actually no strict, consistent American plan! What it is literally about is an initiative, and new ideas, the acceptability and feasibility of ideas that are being tested by Washington these days. A sign of that is that, after sharp criticisms and the refusal from Sarajevo, America gave up the idea of leaving Gorazde to Karadzic's Serbs in return for parts of Sarajevo and its neighborhood.

To judge from what has leaked from various sources into the public, the American initiative is based on several crucial ideas. First, the conflicting parties should somehow be brought to the negotiating table finally to end the war and find a final political solution for the entire region.

The basis for that is still the peace plan of the Contact Group for Bosnia, which means that Serbs would get 49 percent and the Croats and Muslims 51 percent of the territory. How that territory would be divided, that is, which part of the country would belong to whom is what the parties to the conflict should agree on.

Second, the real news with the American initiative is, in fact, the defining of punishments and rewards for those who behave, or do not behave, in a constructive way. If the "conflicting parties" agree to exchange territories and thus reach a final solution, Bosnia-Herzegovina would get "substantial" help from the West for the reconstruction of the country. On top of that, the American initiative anticipates the conclusion of an agreement on military help between Washington and Sarajevo. If the Sarajevo government rejects this now, there will be no help from the West or America. A sort of a punishment would be to lift the sanctions against Belgrade.

On the other hand, if Serbia proves to be constructive, and recognizes Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, it can count on the lifting of the sanctions, which Moscow, Paris, and London have been working toward for a long time.

However, if Karadzic's Serbs do not accept the latest peace solution, then they must reckon with the lifting of the arms embargo against the Sarajevo government and NATO air strikes. In that case, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] would withdraw and troops from Islamic countries would come to take their place.

As for the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unified state, the American initiative/plan provides for a double confederation (the Serb part with Serbia, and the Bosniak-Croat part with Croatia), which, according to the evaluation of most diplomats and observers, in prospect and tendencies boils down to the division of Bosnia, i.e. Bosnia as a state would remain whole only on paper and only in a transitional period for a few years.

To what degree does this American plan/initiative really stand a chance of being crowned with final success? The Russians have for the time being refused those elements in which Karadzic is being militarily threatened and they themselves are doing all they can for the unconditional lifting of sanctions against Belgrade. Sarajevo rejected the very idea of the exchange of Gorazde and Muslim territory in general. Moreover, Muhamed Filipovic [ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to London] described the American plan as a sort of reward for Serb aggression and genocide. France and Britain are by no means delighted with the (at least momentary) assumption of the leading role in the Balkans by the Americans, because they feel pushed aside and because ultimately they could turn out to be the greatest losers of the war in former Yugoslavia, as has already been written in the West.

At the time being, only Bonn and, it seems, Zagreb have signalled their clear support for the Washington plan/initiative. That, in any case, is too little for definite success. Therefore, much will depend on the will and the ability of Washington itself to transform the present initiative, after it has been tested, into a plan which would satisfy the justified interests of all parties to the conflict, and which would be geopolitically logical to an extent which would enable the establishment of a new and stable international order in this region in the future.

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Future Military Operations in Bosnia Viewed

AU2008203795 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 p 15

[Article by Davor Gjenero: "Rights of Bosniaks and Croats to Bosnia Increase"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Serbian empire of occupied territories is obviously on the decline. After they were left without the largest chunk of occupied territory after Operation Storm in Croatia, the Serbs could, it appears now, lose most of the occupied territories in Bosnia in a relatively short time. The Croatian Army has started liberating the occupied Croatian territories in Bosnia as well. [passage omitted]

Three Croatian-Bosniak Operations

At the moment three Croatian-Bosniak operations are under way. It all started with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army operation aimed at gaining control of Donji Vakuf and Jajce. Donji Vakuf is of great importance as a road junction, while Jajce, apart from opening the road along the Vrbas toward Banja Luka, is also the site of the only hydroelectric power station under Bosnian Serb control. Jajce is also the last place that the Serbs managed to capture in 1992 and, apart from Srebrenica and Zepa (which the United Nations demilitarized), they have not managed to capture any Bosnian town since. Donji Vakuf and Jajce are obviously of great importance to Mladic's army so, in order "to defend" them, they pulled out considerable forces from the Bosansko Grahovo and Glamoc fronts on the border with Croatia, and transferred them to that front to face the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The Croatian forces took advantage of that immediately, and launched an offensive against Drvar. Drvar, like Glamoc and Bosansko Grahovo, is a place where the Bosnian Serbs before the war constituted the majority population, and it was to be in the "Serb part of Bosnia" in all the peace plans so far. Suddenly, it seems, it is only a question of time before the Croatian forces take Drvar. It seems to be more important to Mladic to prevent the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army victories than to halt the Croatian offensives. [passage omitted]

To lift the pressure on Bosnia, Croatia has opened another front. Following fierce attacks on Dubrovnik and the surrounding area from the direction of Trebinje, the Croatian Army has decided to silence that part of the front. In 1992, during the operation of lifting the blockade of Dubrovnik, General Bobetko, with the approval of the government in Sarajevo, moved his troops across the Croatian-Bosnian border, and pushed the Trebinje Serbs away from the coast by several strategic kilometers. Now, while the Croatian Army was engaged with most of its potentials in other parts of the country, the Trebinje Serbs managed to move the front line a bit, and the artillery attacks on Dubrovnik became an everyday matter. This resulted in the start of the offensive from Dubrovnik in Croatia, and from Stolac and Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the direction of Trebinje, but also Bileca and Nevesinje. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces could join these operations a bit later, and the goal could be the complete segmentation of the occupied territory in eastern Herzegovina, and even the capture of Foca, which to the Bosniak Muslims has the symbolic importance that Vukovar has for Croats. [passage omitted]

Buying Time for Allies

If the Croatian-Bosniak allies succeed on all three fronts, it would be easy to anticipate an offensive from the direction of Tuzla in Bosnia, assisted by artillery from Croatia, toward the "corridor," most likely at Doboj. If the corridor is cut off, the largest part of the occupied territory in Bosnia will be in a checkmate position, and its leaders will be forced to capitulate, and negotiate "the peaceful reintegration" into the Bosnia-Herzegovina state. The scenario we have discussed thus far is, of course, the optimistic version. Some people still expect negative developments, and even doubt that the alliance between the Croats and the Bosniak Muslims can hold long term. They count on the resumption of hostilities between the current allies, which would greatly alleviate the Serbs' loser's situation.

The Croats, however, do not have any rational reason to break up the alliance. The alliance with the Bosniaks has given Croatia access to the Islamic countries' markets, and rumor has it that Iran, for example, rewarded the Croats for their alliance with the Bosniaks by opening channels for the acquisition of weapons, primarily aircraft. This is logical since the Bosniaks do not control any airports, so if they had an air force they would have to station it on their allied Croatian territory. On the other hand, the Bosniaks are strategically dependent on Croatia, and the only means of delivering the necessary weapons, food, and everything else is through Croatian territory. In this way Croatia does indeed control Bosnia, and this situation will remain even if the military developments take a positive turn for the allies.

Although the United States still does not want to exclude Russia from the peace process in Bosnia, it seems that the current discussions over peace initiatives for Bosnia are aimed at buying time for the Croatian-Bosniak allies. The Russian initiative, which Yeltsin launched immediately after the Serb collapse in Croatia, was probably aimed at legalizing the partition of Bosnia

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between Serbia and Croatia, that is, between Russia and the West. [passage omitted]

The U.S. peace plan, which has been formulated in such a way that even the Russians support it, is a diplomatic mechanism designed to keep Russia for a while away from diplomatic mediation in Bosnia. The U.S. diplomats have themselves been relativizing the meaning of the solutions contained in the plan, by saying that the most important thing is to get Karadzic back to the negotiating table. However, Karadzic should be eliminated not only from the negotiations but also as a political factor. Since it is highly unlikely that NATO will take part in the crushing of the Serb occupation of Bosnia, except perhaps through assistance such as during Operation Storm, that is through bombing occasional radar bases, informing the Bosniak-Croatian allies about the deployment of Bosnian Serb forces, and helping in military planning, it is up to the allied forces whether this war ends in a stalemate with a better negotiating position for the Bosniaks and the Croats than the present one, or in a complete military defeat of the Serbs. It is also highly likely that NATO will find ways of keeping Serbia, that is, the Yugoslav Army, well away from the Bosnian conflict.

Economic Growth in 'Liberated Areas' Examined

AU1808121295 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 17

[Article by Branka Stipic: "Growth on the Wings of 'Operation Storm'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Immediately after the municipal workers, bakers, and bankers, a coffee bar arrived in Knin. It was opened by the Agrokor company and, for the first couple of days, all visitors received a free cup of coffee and a glass of mineral water, Jamnicka water of course. Thus, the much needed private entrepreneurial spirit has arrived in the recently liberated areas. While the first cups of coffee and glasses of water were being sold in Knin, the following dialogue took place in Zagreb:

—You should immediately open a savings bank over there. That's the future.

—Well, Privredna Banka [Commercial Bank] is already there. What would I do there?

—One always needs a bank and a savings bank, both of them. Bosnia is not far away, too...an ideal opportunity.

Financial experts, bankers, entrepreneurs.... They already see a new Croatian "El Dorado" in the former "krajinas." The have announced an "economic storm" and the financial support of the state has already moved some people to work, to others it is only a stimulus to think about what to do in the liberated areas. But everybody has taken the hint. The next couple of months will be the time to go after business and locations, because afterward it will be too late.

Tax Benefits

Already, by having created such a feverish atmosphere, the government has instigated the economic recovery of not only the former "krajinas," but also the rest of Croatia. It has already announced its measures: the privatization of the enterprises in the liberated areas, special-purpose credits for renewal, entrepreneurs' credits, the simplification of the administrative procedure to get credit, tax benefits.... Beside the already submitted requests for additional credits from international financial institutions, some thought has been given to the idea of the public loan for renewal. The details, however, have not been revealed yet. The level of the tax benefits announced by the Ministry of Finance for the entrepreneurs in recently liberated areas is also not known yet. Those benefits will be calculated in the next days and publicly announced probably at the beginning of September.

According to the first statements of important people, the basic objective will be to create the conditions for life and work. Thus, Djuro Njavro, presidential advisor for the economy, says that the most important thing is to create new jobs. Some companies, like Gavrilovic, are sufficiently preserved to start operating next month.

"We have to revive the economy and then solve the financial problems along with that. First we have to determine the situation, appoint managing boards, establish management, and start production. Now is the time for a program that would involve unemployed resources. The state money will be used for the infrastructure and the reconstruction of houses, and we will stimulate entrepreneurs to invest in companies," Njavro says. Privatization Minister Ivan Penic says that, as soon as possible, supervisory boards should be appointed in the enterprises in the liberated areas, because there is property and machinery, but there are no people to take care of it.

Increase in Share Value

The next step is ownership transformation and the privatization of those enterprises, which will be carried out according to the model applied so far. There are already optimistic announcements that, precisely because of Operation Storm, the price of shares will increase. Those in the liberated areas, in M.Sc. Borislav Skegro's appraisal, have now doubled in value. An increase in value, however, is also expected with all other shares, because Croatia has reduced the war risk by having liberated its territories. The optimists think

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that a rush for the shares in tourist enterprises will now follow, because they are given a chance to work, now that the risk of war has been removed. Djuro Njavro says that the success of the military operation has directly influenced privatization because it has inspired confidence in the future of our economy, so that the possibilities of investment have also grown. One huge obstacle for foreign capital has thus been removed, and it is expected that it will respond to that challenge in the coming months.

One optimistic estimations is the for a 10 billion kuna larger gross national product in 1996. Some macroeconomists are already rely upon the growth of industrial production this autumn. Those calculations are naturally based also upon the fact that the more than 100,000 displaced persons who will return homes in the next months will stop being consumers of the social product and will start creating it. Despite the overall optimism, however, a slight increase in the value of German mark on the eve of the military action did not escape careful readers of exchange rate tables. Sensitive to such signals, they reacted with fear of a new inflation swing. Once again, the story of devaluation spread, be it ever so impossible. The result of that story was a slightly heavier foreign currency demand. The bankers have noted an easy trend of saving stagnation, but they did not want to stir too much dust about it, because they were happy not to have crowds at their counters when the war was getting into full swing. There were cases of people wishing to withdraw their deposits from the accounts and then, after a couple of days, bringing it back to the bank, because they realized that there had been no reason for fear.

False Dilemma

"The price of foreign currency has risen because of two reasons: The tourist season has disappointed hopes and achieved far less than expected, and we had counted on a 10 to 30 percent increase compared to last year. On the other hand, imports have increased, which climbed to a monthly level of $600 million, compared to $400 million last year. Fortunately, the level of the import of mass consumption goods remained at last years level, but the import of reproduction materials has risen, which means that the production is getting into full swing," Velimir Sonje from the National Bank of Croatia says. That is, the growth of German mark was influenced by the reduction in the supply of foreign currency because the tourist season has not gathered the expected amounts and, simultaneously, the demand rose. Despite such movements in the foreign currency market, the opinion is that one should not be afraid of an abrupt rise in the price of foreign currency because the exchange rates are still stable and there is no reason for fear of inflation.

Isn't the state going to initiate moderate inflation, which is considered by many macroeconomists to be the only way to stimulate economic growth? Djuro Njavro claims that one must not allow the necessity of development to endanger the basic economic goal, and that is stability. He thinks that the dilemma, inflation as the source of economic growth or stability and stagnation, is false. Stability is, he claims, the presumption of economic development because without stability there is no trust in money, without trust there is no saving, without saving there is no investment, and without investment there is no economic growth.

The investment of the state in the recently liberated area will pass, at least according to the announcements, without a significant tax increase. Deputy Finance Minister Mijo Jukic says that there are no plans for a budget revision because of the renewal. The government will spend the money already envisaged for that purpose, as well as 120 million kunas from the current budgetary reserve. Negotiations with international institutions for new credits are underway.

Domestic entrepreneurs can count on the 33 million kunas of credit in the Croatian Bank for Reconstruction And Development, which they will be able to spend to revive agricultural activities and to start handicrafts and other entrepreneurial jobs. The procedure will be much simpler, the first man in the HKBO [Croatian Credit Bank for Reconstruction And Development], Anton Kovacevic, says, and they will not insist on investment feasibility studies, but only on elaborated request. The objective is to prevent a brain drain and capital flight from the territories afflicted by war and to stimulate the return to the liberated territories.

Optimism itself will do half the work. The state is to create conditions for that optimism not to deflate in the realization of the job. For example, it turned out in western Slavonia that there is a shortage of construction workers and experts to estimate war damages and work on the reconstruction of the destroyed. The price of construction materials is too high, which swallows more money for reconstruction than is necessary. On one hand, the state has announced that it will import cheaper materials, but it also seems that the market itself is solving the problem. The Slovenian company Marles, for example, has announced that it will open a production facility in the surroundings of Split, by which it will introduce construction using prefabricated parts to Croatia.

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Helsinki Committee Reports on Krajina Operation

AU2108133495 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1000 GMT 21 Aug 95

[Report by Harmut Fiedler on the presentation of a report by the International Helsinki Federation in Vienna on 21 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Fiedler] It took the Croatian Army four days to conquer Krajina. The Operation Storm offensive was a real success for Franjo Tudjman and his soldiers. Because everything happened so fast, not only the Croatians spoke of a clean war, if one can use the word clean in connection with a war. The more becomes known about the Krajina offensive, the more obvious it becomes that the behavior of the Croatians was quite brutal. After the United Nations, the International Helsinki Federation has also described as wrong the statements by the government in Zagreb that the property of civilians was not destroyed. It also mentioned the disappearance of people and about a mass grave in Knin.

For the human rights activists of the Helsinki Federation, the following is completely clear after a trip through Krajina: The Croatians looted and pillaged the conquered Serbian villages systematically, (Tardan Gashi) stressed. Some areas were completely devastated.

[Gashi] One of the destroyed villages is Ivosevci near the capital of Knin, where 2,000-2,500 people used to live before the war. There is not a single building there which was not looted, pillaged, or blasted, with the exception of the church, the Orthodox church, which is an irony of history in the whole region. Ninety percent of nearly every village has been destroyed, but the Orthodox churches have not been touched to show the world how democratic the Croatians are.

[Fiedler] Civilians have not been able to cause such an extent of destruction, Gashi claims.

[Gashi] What we saw were regular Croatian soldiers with stolen civilian cars, packed with whatever they found. We saw soldiers running around with gasoline containers, hand grenades, and gas masks, who apparently wanted to blast homes. We confronted the Croatian authorities with these observations, but they claimed, this is another irony of history, that they have five suspects, including three soldiers and two civilians, who are believed to have carried out these offenses. Yet, they cannot furnish any evidence, even though the evidence can be seen everywhere. For this reason, the suspects have not been arrested, and they are not facing any charges. They are only suspected of having committed these acts.

[Fiedler] Are the allegations aimed directly against the Croatian Army, in spite of statements to the contrary by the government in Zagreb, which speak only of individual attacks, and which continue to cultivate the picture of a completely correct and largely unbloody offensive?

[Gashi] Absolutely. The Croatian Army assumed control on 5 and 6 August respectively. According to the United Nations, these villages were fully intact because the Serbs fled in great haste after the regular troops and the regular police invaded the region. When we left the area on 18 and 19 August, the fires were still burning.

[Fiedler] Tardan Gashi also considers reports on executions reliable. A total of 11 bodies have been found in southern Krajina in the meantime. Some of them were allegedly killed from behind or from a very short distance. As far as the mass grave, which was discovered by the United Nations in the former Serbian stronghold of Knin last week, is concerned, the Croatian authorities provided completely unsatisfactory explanations, the Helsinki Federation claims. Many things still have to be clarified, Tardan Gashi believes. However, he has no doubts concerning the motives of the brutal behavior of the Croatians.

[Gashi] We believe, we held talks with UN officials and numerous other people, that this was a preventive measure aimed at preventing any Serb from coming back.

[Fiedler] Gashi rejects statements to the contrary by the Croatian Government. The authorities tried to cover up or manipulate hints regarding executions and the mass grave near Knin. In addition, their assertions were inconsistent.

Krajina 'Torched State'

LD2108165495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 21 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—In a dispatch from Knin, Drnis, and surrounding villages, the Ljubljana-based weekly REPUBLIKA describes Krajina as a "torched state in which everything is similar to the corridor through northern Bosnia, where everything has been torched and looted."

"Houses are still on fire ten days after the operation carried out by the Croatian Army," REPUBLIKA reports. Houses in the village of Zitnic near Drnis, in Drnis itself, in Vrbnik near Knin, and in the villages of Cerici, Ramljane, Kaldrma, Kosovo, Orlic, Markovac, Biskupija have been almost completely destroyed, the weekly says.

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According to its reporter "most of the houses in the village of Vrbnik have been torched and almost all of them looted. Several old women who stayed on, 100-year-old Andja Vujatovic among them, say that Croatian Army soldiers are still opening fire during the night with the aim of getting rid of the remaining inhabitants," the weekly says, adding that two Croatian soldiers massacred three unarmed peasants on Sunday 6 August after the official end of the military operation.

The Orthodox church in the village remains intact probably because of Croatia's "civilized image," the weekly reports, adding that the Serbs did not harm Croatian houses during their reign but that they destroyed Catholic churches.

The reporter says in conclusion that after everything he has seen, Tudjman's guarantees to the Serbs sound "more than cynical" and that "the tragic Krajina is finally peaceful and completely ethnically cleansed."

Belgian Films Atrocities

BR2208075195 Brussels RTBF-1 Television Network in French 1730 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer Paul Germain] Two weeks ago the Croatian Army launched a major offensive against the Serb-controlled territory of Krajina. This offensive rapidly led to a victory and made hundreds of thousands Serb civilians flee the area. The Zagreb authorities denied having carried out acts of ethnic cleansing. The video report which our special correspondents brought with them seems to prove, however, that the Croatian Army sought to intimidate the Serbian population. It must be added that our team is certainly the only one to have been able to film in Krajina, as it managed to evade the military censorship. Here is the video report by Patrick Remacle, Michel Boulogne, and Meri Savic. I must warn you that some images are fairly gruesome.

[Begin video recording] [Unidentified reporter] [words indistinct] Franjo Tudjman, the winner. Two weeks after his lightning attack, the Zagreb Army controls Krajina. The Croatian order rules Knin. However, the history of this attack, and what happened during subsequent operations, remains to be written. This is the first time that you will see these images. They were filmed during the Croatian attack by a Blue Helmet entrenched in a bunker

Friday, 4 August. The first shells fall on Knin. The first fires erupt. However the Serb flag is still flying at the castle overlooking Knin. The following night there were heavy bombardments. Serb civilians were fleeing from every direction. Most of them by car or tractor. The next morning, it was the soldiers' turn, like this Serbian soldier, chased by the Croats, who requested aid in front of an advanced UN post. [video shows soldier sitting on the road before unidentified building] The majority of the Krajina Army soldiers fled on foot. Two hours later, the Croatian armored vehicle appeared on the same road. They would catch up with the refugees.

On Saturday, 5 August, the bombardments increased in ferocity. After several hours of fighting the Croatian Army took the city. Exactly at 1249 [local time] [screen caption shows time] the Croatian flag was hung up at a wall of Knin castle. At the same time several camoflauged vehicles of the Croatian Army took up positions before the UN Headquarters. The Blue Helmets were cornered. They were forbidden from leaving their positions under penalty of being shot. Only a few armored ambulances were allowed to leave the hospital to evacuate the wounded. Until Monday, 7 August, the Blue Helmets were not permitted to carry out any surveillance missions. That day, [UN special envoy] Akashi visited Knin. The road he took after landing had been thoroughly cleared. The Croatian Army had carried out an impeccable offensive.

However, Kistanje, a little village some 20 km from Knin, had, just like other surrounding villages, been totally destroyed. This is what remains of the main street. [video shows images of main street with destroyed and burnt houses] The walls of the houses show virtually no signs of fighting. There is only the blackness of the fires. Number 11, Milena's house. It was here that we stayed last December when we were making a previous video report. Milena, who lived by herself, was approximately 60 years old. In all the villages we went through, we found the same desolation, the same silence following the fires. On the road, there were Serbian tanks which no longer would be defending Krajina. Little by little, eyewitness reports began coming in about exactions committed by the Croats.

[Remacle, identified by screen caption, standing on unidentified road talking into a microphone] Several days after Knin's fall and the end of the fighting, a UN officer who refused to talk in front of our camera confirmed to us that he had seen a mature man being interrogated by Croat policemen at a roadblock. Half an hour later, the body of that man was lying alongside the road; he had been shot several times in the back and once in the head.

[Reporter] Near Knin we discovered an old man killed in front of his house. [video shows image of corpse] On the walls were no traces of any fighting. A little bit further, two dead bodies: a teenager and an adult. [video shows two corpses] The adult's right hand had been severed. At the UN camp, where several hundred Serbs sought refuge, the eyewitness reports were overwhelm-

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ing. A completely traumatized woman told us that her husband and three civilian men who were accompanying her were slaughtered [by the Croats] at the entry to Knin. She begged the Croat soldiers to kill her as well, but they refused and cut off three fingers of one of her hands. There are other eyewitness reports, including that of this Blue Helmet, who wants to remain anonymous.

[Unidentified soldier wearing blue helmet, filmed from the back] In one house, we found two persons aged approximately 50. One was stretched on a bed, the other was sitting on an armchair with his head blown apart. They must have been dead for two or three days. The house had been booby-trapped, a plastic grenade had been connected to the telephone. At the cemetery, a bulldozer was busy burying people. There were several bodies of men, but also of women and children. It was actually only one of the several mass graves that were there.

[Reporter] Croat President Tudjman has denied any exactions in Krajina. In the best case, Mr. Tudjman is ill-informed. Two weeks after Knin's fall, a smell of smoke and corpses still pervades the conquered territories. [end recording]

General Denies Mass Graves

LD1908191495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 95

[Report by Lidija Pavic from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are no mass graves in Knin, and all the people who were killed during Operation Storm, 120 from the Knin area, have been forensically examined and buried in line with all international conventions. Colonel General Ivan Cermak, the commander of the Knin operational area, told this to journalists and a delegation of the Helsinki Watch which visited him today.

Here is what Gen. Cermak had to say in response to accusations voiced at a UN news conference in Zagreb yesterday.

[Begin Cermak recording] A Croatian Army colonel has just taken the group to the graveyard so they can see that all the dead were buried in line with all international conventions, which means one person to one grave at a prescribed distance. They can see for themselves and film it.

We gave them a list of all the bodies we had found, where and how they were buried, and the names of the people we have managed to identify so far. They were very satisfied with this. They obviously do not have enough information, and believe false information. This is why we did what we did.

The UN Confidence Restoration Operation and UN civilian police have from the first day been allowed access to any body we have found. They can attend the forensic examination and establish for themselves the cause of death and check the burial procedure. All the insinuations are completely groundless, and they come from outside. We have had absolutely no complaints from the international organizations in Knin. [end recording]

Cermak: UN To Hand Over 'Confirmed' Criminals

LD2108182095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 95

[Report by Lidija Pavic from Knin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a meeting with UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] representatives today, which was devoted to the departure of Serb civilians who are accommodated in UN barracks, Colonel General Ivan Cermak, commander of the Knin Operational Zone, has told Croatian radio:

[Begin Cermak recording] The evacuation will begin at the end of this week or the beginning of next week. There are 687 persons on the evacuation list; UNCRO has clearly said, General [name indistinct] repeated it himself, that UNCRO will not protect war criminals. In other words, those who we say have to leave the camp will be handed over to the regular judicial bodies of the Republic of Croatia. So far, we have 74 to 76 people on the list in this connection. We will most probably reduce that list. We will take out of the camp only those who are confirmed criminals. All others will be allowed to leave with the convoy. [end recording]

Serbs Report Resumed Attacks on Eastern Krajina

LD2008130995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1253 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Aug. 20 (TANJUG)—Croatia's forces continue attacking the eastern part of the Republic of Serb Krajina (Sector East of the U.N. protected area), the Vukovar-based Serb Krajina command said Sunday. Croatia's forces sporadically opened small-arm fire along the Belisce-Torjanci line on the night of Aug. 19-20, the command said.

Military provocations are a daily occurence along the separation line in Sector East, which the Croatian side confirmed by reporting it had fired 30 shells on the area of the village of Ernestinovo by late Saturday.

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Three Serb soldiers were lightly wounded in Croatia's mortar attacks on Serb civilian facilities and positions on Saturday, the Serb communique said and specified that the Serb side had adequately responded.

Croatia's officials have more than once said that force would be used to take Sector East, the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina not occupied by Croatia.

The Serb Krajina region of western Slavonia was occupied in Croatia's aggression in early May and the northern and southern parts of the republic in the latest aggression in early August.

Artillery Shelling Continues

LD2208103995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0832 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 22 Aug (SRNA)—The Croatian Army has continued to shell the Serb villages along the border of the Republic of Serb Krajina in Slavonia and Baranja.

According to the command of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb Army of Krajina, in the period between 1745 and 1800 yesterday the village of Gabos was hit by 30 82-mm mortar shells, and at 2100 Croats pounded the area of the village of Divos.

Since there were no casualities among the Serb population the attacks were not returned. Civilian facilities suffered considerable damage.

Sides Trade Threats Over Situation in Dubrovnik

AU1908210395 Paris AFP in English 2055 GMT 19 Aug 95

[Report by Jean-Luc Porte]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dubrovnik, Croatia, Aug 19 (AFP)—Last-minute diplomatic efforts gained momentum here Saturday [19 August] as Croatian and Bosnian Serb forces traded heavy artillery fire in the neighbouring mountains.

Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said Zagreb would use "every diplomatic means" to avoid the need for a Croatian offensive in the region against the Bosnian Serbs. But he told a press conference: "Our patience has limits."

Bosiljko Misetic, the Croatian vice president, said that there were for the moment no plans to evacuate the southern Croatian port city, adding: "If there is a war, it won't last long."

Both men, supporters of the U.S. peace initiative, said they would not negotiate with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, a development which lends new urgency to the diplomatic shuttle being undertaken by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

As Croatian troops mobilised near Croatia's border with Bosnia, an officer said: "We are ready and need nothing more than the green light from the politicians for an offensive." The Bosnian Serbs have been bombarding the zone for the past week.

Loud detonations could be heard in the hills Saturday afternoon, while the Croatian military said 12 shells fell on the city's airport on Friday evening.

"If we wanted to intervene militarily, we could already have settled the issue," Prime Minister Valentic said, adding that Zagreb feared "a global war in the region."

Montenegro has mobilised a considerable number of troops along its border with Croatia, according to the Croatian military.

Croatian forces are reported to already be in position inside Serb-held territory in the mountains around the city.

But many here believe that only the fall of the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Trebinje, 20 kilometres (12 miles) north of Dubrovnik, could end the Serb threat in the region. There appears to have been a mutual agreement not to bomb each other's cities in the past few days.

Trebinje's mayor, Bozidar Vucurevic, told a local radio station: "If Trebinje is bombarded by artillery, we will destroy Dubrovnik using every means at our disposal."

The Croatian leaders' comments in Dubrovnik could be Zagreb's last warning which, if unheeded, could provide the justification for a massive offensive into Bosnian Serb territory with the immediate aim of pushing the Serbs guns out of reach of Dubrovnik.

As the press conference ended, shellfire could once again be heard in the distance.

Martic Asks UN To Check 'Aggression' on RSK

LD1808171595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1447 GMT 18 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina President Milan Martic called on the United Nations Friday to inaugurate a process for checking Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], securing the withdrawal of Croatia's troops from the occupied territories, and enabling the return of the expelled population.

Martic said in a letter sent to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali from his "provisional headquarters

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in Banja Luka" that the latest tragedy of the Serbian people was a consequence of the actions of the most powerful countries in the world and decisions of the UN Security Council which had spurred and aided Croatia's aggression.

Martic requested that UN Protected Area Sectors (UNPAS) be again placed under UN control and in that context invoked the Sarajevo agreement of Jan. 3, 1992.

He said the Krajina Serbs and leaderhsip would otherwise resume their just struggle for the liberation of their ethnic territories.

Martic said in the letter to Butrus-Ghali that by expelling the entire populations of northern Dalmatia, Lika, Korduna and Banija, (UNPA sectors north and south), starting with Aug. 4 on, Croatia had committed the hitherto most massive ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia.

About 250,000 people have been expelled from the respective territories, of whom about 150,000 have so far found a haven in Yugoslavia and the remainder in the Bosnia Serb Republic.

Krajina Serbs Claim 15,000 Killed in Offensive

LD1908164695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 19 Aug (SRNA)—The Croatian Army killed around 15,000 Serb civilians in the aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina in early August and drove out between 300,000 and 315,000 Krajina Serbs in the ethnic cleansing of these centuries-old Serb areas.

According to the first official reports on the consequences of the Croatian aggression, based also on reports by international humanitarian organizations, which SRNA obtained from the Serb Krajina Crisis Headquarters in Banja Luka, between 15,000 and 30,000 Krajina refugees are registered as missing, including a convoy of around 10,000 Krajina Serbs from the area of Glina and Banija. The convoy set off for Serbia along the Zagreb-Belgrade freeway, but every trace of it has been lost. [passage indistinct]

Krajina's Vojinovic: Martic Ordered Evacuation

AU2108204895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 95 p 5

[Report by Z.R.: "Disputable Withdrawal of Serb Army From Krajina"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—"The Republic of Serb Krajina government is still functioning. We have held a session in Banja Luka this evening, which was attended by President Milan Martic and army commander General Mile Mrksic. We are doing everything in our power with the Serb Republic to settle the refugees and to protect those Serbs who have remained in Krajina. We want to evacuate the people who want to leave," Milivoje Vojinovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, told Radio Kragujevac yesterday, stressing that "the Republic of Serb Krajina exists because the people and the government exist, the government that prior to the Croatian aggression was committed to a peaceful solution at the talks in Geneva."

At the same time, according to him, a physical part of the Republic of Serb Krajina exists as represented by eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem [Srijem].

The Republic of Serb Krajina's foreign minister claims that the Krajina government will negotiate with international organizations over the status of the Krajina refugees, as well as the possibility of their return to their homes.

Speaking of the Z-4 plan, Vojinovic said that the present government accepted the plan as a basis for negotiations with the Croatian side, but this came too late. "I belong to that group of people that constantly spoke of the need for peaceful negotiations. I think that the Z-4 plan was a good basis for negotiations with the Croats. Unfortunately, we realized this too late," Vojinovic stressed.

Commenting on the fall of Knin and Krajina, Vojinovic said that, at the Republic of Serb Krajina government session in Banja Luka, President Martic and Gen. Mile Mrksic insisted that they had issued the order for the evacuation of the civilians but not the army from the Republic of Serb Krajina. He said that the order to evacuate the civilians was issued by Martic. Vojinovic said that Gen. Mrksic insisted at the government session in Banja Luka that he did not order the army to withdraw. Therefore, according to Vojinovic, the withdrawal of the Serb Army from Krajina remains disputable.

Finally, Vojinovic stressed that the politicization of the refugees must be avoided, that is, political clashes in Serbia should not be conducted over the backs of the Krajina refugees.

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Albania's Serreqi, Officials on Ties, Balkans

LD2108212295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1943 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 21 August (TANJUG)—Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi had talks with Stevo Crvenkovski, the foreign minister of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], in Skopje today. The Albanian foreign minister was also received by Macedonian Assembly Speaker Stojan Andov.

In the course of the talks, the two sides "extensively exchanged views about bilateral relations, stressing satisfaction with the degree of their development," a statement issued tonight says.

The two sides also concluded that expansion of bilateral relations will play a significant role in turning the Balkans into a region of peace.

Regarding the current regional developments, it was concluded: "it is unacceptable to change borders by the use of force and the ethnic cleansing method."

FYROM Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski and President Kiro Gligorov are due to receive Minister Serreqi tomorrow.

Government Viewed Losing Control; Change Sought

AU2108111895 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Commentary by Erol Rizaov: "Closing One's Eyes to the Truth"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the Prime Minister of the Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] announced a battle against organized crime, it seems it is the government that is scared and not the Mafia.

Now, a month after a relentless battle was promised, all of us, that is the general public, and probably the prime minister himself, have became aware that it is one thing to take the microphone in front of the television cameras showing determination, and quite another to face the day-to-day battle against crime, the gray economy, bribery, and corruption.

The aftermath of the prime minister's energetic and public statements is that a dozen government clerks have been removed for lack of engagement. That is all. Nothing more. Not a shred of evidence has been produced, there has not been a single charge, no action, not a single person has been imprisoned, and there have not even been any trials. Only the small street traders have been expelled from the green markets. Temporarily.

In the less than 30 days since the prime minister threatened war against organized crime, there remains only the bitter knowledge that the government has publicly recognized that the unformed Mafia is here, that it operates without obstruction, that all the "roots" of organized crime function in front of the whole public, and that everything remains as it was, the only difference being that the government has announced decisive action by sanctioning a number of clerks. It is unclear why nobody has collected taxes so far, why nobody has paid taxes to the state except those who were forced to, why money laundering has become almost a legalized activity, smuggling likewise, why bribery and corruption have become an integral part of our lives, something so common that, if you do not do it, you can even be exposed to scorn by your own children.

Macedonia is at the crossroads of democratic transformation, but it is still a long way from being a state really governed by the law. The consequences of the transitional ambiguities and the terrible economic chaos are visible at every step. Criteria on real values and abilities have apparently been abandoned. We have a situation in which it is considered a skill in the state not to produce anything, that is, it is a great skill to close one's own capacities. One is unskilled if one invests in the production.

It is a skill to import foreign goods, and one who sells home goods at foreign markets is unskilled.

It is a skill to deliver speeches on the historical past, to promote and open cultural events, to witness day-to-day promotions. It is unskilled and a nonsense to think about production or open new factories. We have not seen anything like this for years.

A new managerial psychology of success has been imposed—to avoid paying taxes to the state and to become rich by smuggling oil, cigarettes, and textiles. It is a skill to import and sell goods without paying customs duties, with some small state interventions. It is unskilled and untalented to live honestly and pay taxes and duties to the state.

At this moment the easiest thing to do is to fire thousands of workers, and nobody thinks or cares about the unemployed. The ministers are competing to provide foreign credits, and nobody is offering plans on how to repay the debts. It is a skill to invest millions of dollars in new infrastructure. It is unskilled to organize profitable production in the existing plants.

There are endless public polemics stirring up emotions on things that happened in this region two thousand,

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or a hundred years ago, what is the difference, and there is no time and energy to ask about the future of Macedonia's citizens tomorrow, about their standard of living, what they can expect, if they will receive their wages, pensions, if they will be able to pay for the education of their children, if they will be able to feed themselves....

Most of the ministers, who are scared to death of the logical sequence of the events that could endanger their survival, have broken the information blockade in the past few days and have started to speak. Of course, not about what is in the interests of the public, but about what they themselves want to speak about.

So, some ministers have spoken about problems that do not fall within the competence of their ministries, that is, they have tried to solve problems in areas they are not authorized to speak about. Everybody is simply becoming an expert on the country's security, foreign policy, the dispute with Greece, interethnic relations, and reforms, while nobody says a word about what is going on in his sector and what the reasons and responsibilities are for the reshuffles within his own ministry.

It has been publicly announced that new laws providing for the effective collection of state taxes will be adopted and that the main controls will be in the factory halls and at the border. The question is what is going to be controlled in the factory halls since there is nothing there. There is neither production, nor people. The competent ministries could accept advice regarding the border: They could go to the border crossings one day, privately and without advance notice, to see for themselves what can be put under control and how it is being done. They could also drop by customs terminals and see how the crossings of hundreds of trucks are being controlled.

Nobody has yet felt the need to explain to the public why the budget coffers are empty and why revenues due to the state are not paid. Why has the state income from cigarettes, coffee, oil, and oil derivatives fallen drastically? Where is this money going? If the government does not know, it should speak to the ordinary citizens, they will tell it at once.

The government has also announced big new deals, new solutions for ending the crisis, but nothing of the projected and agreed program has been fulfilled so far. It is becoming the general rule that when something cannot be fulfilled, the best thing to do is to blame the program at once or the coalition partners in the government itself.

Whose job is it, if not the police's, the inspectors', and the district attorneys', to fight organized crime? However, they were the ones who only a few months ago claimed that there is no such thing as organized crime in our country, and, therefore, no need to spend big money on preventive actions. According to official assessments, the Mafia and organized crime are active in the countries in the East and in the West, but not in our country. Why has it suddenly been "discovered" that there are such "origins" among us and that the whole society should be alarmed against these "casual events?"

It is becoming evident that the government is operating more and more like a "badly tuned" orchestra and that it has lost its way in the face of the difficulties that are piling up. Its engagement in the past few months was a result of its wrong assessments on the economic situation and the economic trends in general. Isolated in ministerial offices and buried under tons of paper, usually cosmetically arranged according to the taste of their ministries of which they have good knowledge, the same clerks have remained for five, six, and even seven governments.

The public expects the prime minister and the ministers to come out of their offices as soon as possible and present a real picture of the situation. Only then will the prime minister be able to see how essential it is to reorganize the government in all seriousness.

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Commander 'Dismissed' Over Signature Campaign

LD2208115395 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1000 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski has said that a report prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] internal inspection team confirms that signatures of support for Lech Walesa's candidature for president were collected in an organized fashion and with the knowledge of the commanding officers in the Vistula Military Units [NJW]. NJW Commander Admiral Toczek has resigned. Maciej Sojka reports:

[Sojka] The minister presented the report today to the members of the presidium of the Sejm Commission of Administration and Internal Affairs.

[Begin recording] [Milczanowski] The report by the MSW Inspectorate of Supervision and Control shows that the action of collecting signatures took place in the Vistula Military Units, and that it had been an organized action.

[Sojka] Have the reports that the action was known to the NJW command been confirmed?

[Milczanowski] Yes, the reports were confirmed.

[Sojka] Do you think that certain conclusions should be drawn from the matter? If so, what conclusions?

[Milczanowski] Today, Admiral Toczek submitted to me a request to be relieved from the position of commander of the Vistula Military Units. [end recording]

[Sojka] The minister announced that Admiral Toczek's resignation will be accepted very soon. The Administration Commission decided that in these circumstances there is no need to appoint its own investigation team.

Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Commission of Administration and Internal Affairs, said the minister has shown great efficiency and speed of action, and that the solution adopted here is the best possible.

The minister also said that officers who induced soldiers to sign the lists will be disciplined. [end recording]

[Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish at 1100 GMT on 22 August reports: "Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has confirmed that Admiral Zdzislaw Toczek, commander of the Vistula Military Units, has been dismissed"]

New Head of Presidential Chancellery Appointed

LD2208113695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1207 GMT 22 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 22 Aug—President Lech Walesa today appointed Stanislaw Iwanicki to the post of the head of his chancellery. At the same time, Iwanicki received the nomination for the post of secretary of state.

General Wilecki's Defense Remarks Discussed

LD2108220495 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy met for two hours with Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski and General Tadeusz Wilecki, the chief of the General Staff. General Wilecki's remarks last week during ceremonies on the eve of the Armed Forces' Day were discussed. Wilecki has accused the political elites of neglecting the state defenses.

After tonight's meeting General Wilecki said:

[Begin Wilecki recording] I talked about the past 10 years. During this period those responsible for the current situation came and went off the political stage. I think that after today's talks, after today's meeting with the prime minister, there is some hope that action will be taken on this matter. [end recording]

Here is what Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said:

[Begin Oleksy recording] I only wonder why a period of 10 years of neglect regarding the Army gets mentioned now, when the government has only been in office for six months. Personally, I understand that Army representatives focused their interests on this matter and articulated their fears respectively. [end recording]

Lech Kaczynski Refuses To Run for President

WS2208115495 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Aug 95 p 1

[Report by Piotr Zaremba: "Lech Kaczynski Does Not Want To Run"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "I do not want to run for the Presidency," Lech Kaczynski told leaders of the Center Accord [PC] yesterday. PC activists are trying to make him change his mind. Party leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski does not rule out that he will withdraw from politics.

Lech Kaczynski refused to agree to run in the elections as early as two months ago. Despite that, the PC Political Council decided that he would be its candidate. It also decided that signatures supporting the candidate should be collected. As we found out unofficially, last

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Sunday the former president of the Supreme Chamber of Control said once again that he would not run. The PC Main Administration [ZG] failed to persuade him to change his mind, even though the party's activists are still hoping that an effective signature-collecting campaign will make him change his mind.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski told ZG that the possibility cannot be ruled out that tqe PC will not endorse any candidate in the presidential elections. In such a situation he himself is entertaining the idea of backing out of public life.

"I do not confirm this information. The issue of my brother's running in the elections is still open," Jaroslaw Kaczynski told us.

The PC was the main party that supported Adam Strzembosz. However, two months ago it withdrew its support and accused Strzembosz of trying to limit the party's influence on the campaign to the minimum. The first president of the Supreme Court replied that the PC wanted to make him dependent on it. The party also rejects the other candidates considered to be rightist: Lech Walesa, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Jan Olszewski, and Janusz Korwin-Mikke.

Covenant Chooses NBP Head as Candidate

WS2108140795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19-20 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by M.D.Z.: "Olszewski's Spokesman: These Are Bolshevik Methods; Gronkiewicz-Waltz Covenant's Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Saint Catherine Covenant has chosen its candidate for president: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. However, supporters of the other two pretenders, Leszek Moczulski and Jan Olszewski, did not take part in the voting. They believe the voting was manipulated, and that it does not have any binding power.*

At a press conference called yesterday, supporters of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz informed that during the Covenant's session on Thursday the president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP] got a majority of the votes, whereas the other two candidates, Olszewski and Moczulski, got only one vote each. However, the vote was held after a four-hour discussion, when representatives of nine groupings who were against the idea of choosing a candidate via a vote had left the conference room.

"Father Maj has texts of declarations in which the pretenders committed themselves to backing out the moment a candidate is chosen," Andrzej Anusz of the Polish Union recalled yesterday. The Covenant changed its name to the Committee of Electoral Support for Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and formally launched the signature-collecting campaign. "Talks are under way between the campaign staffs of Adam Strzembsz and supporters of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz on uniting the political base. We are hoping that in two weeks' time, when more results of preelection opinion polls are made known, one of the two candidates will withdraw and support the other," said Anusz. Just as Father Maj demanded on behalf of the primate, before suspending its work, the Covenant dissolved its Coordinative Team (which originally was supposed to choose the presidential candidate); then it sent Solidarity a statement informing it about the Covenant's most recent decisions. It also declared that while waging her campaign its candidate would not "get the union's structures entangled in it."

In the meantime, supporters of Jan Olszewski ignore the Thursday voting in the Covenant and believe that since the Coordinating Team has been dissolved, all the commitments the candidates made are no longer valid. "These are Bolshevik methods; many formal rules were violated," Zbigniew Wrzesinski claims. The press spokesman of Jan Olszewski's campaign staff believes that "supporters of Ms. Waltz aimed to split the Covenant by means of drastic measures and they succeeded."

According to Wrzesinski, Solidarity Deputy Chairman Janusz Tomaszewski, who chaired the meeting, gave assurances that he would not allow any voting to be held in the Covenant. When it was decided otherwise, he resigned.

"I resigned as the chairman of the meeting because I decided that politicians must make decisions at their own responsibility and that Solidarity can no longer hold an umbrella over them," Tomaszewski told us. "I was there until the end of the meeting as an observer and I tried to talk to everyone until the very end. I do not believe that, as some people tend to think, that 'votes are a relic of Communism,' because, after all, this is what the entire Western democracy is based upon," says the deputy chairman of Solidarity.

Election Date To Be Announced After 22 Aug

WS2108125695 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 19-20 Aug 95 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych by Ewa Milewicz; place and date not given: "I Am Not Interested in Appeals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"I will announce the date of the presidential elections in early September," said Jozef*

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Zych yesterday. On Thursday Prime Minister Oleksy called for the date of the elections to be announced as soon as possible to "put an end to the speculations" regarding the possibility of prolonging the present term of office.

[Milewicz] Did Prime Minister Oleksy ask you to set the date of the presidential elections as soon as possible?

[Zych] No, he did not do this officially.

[Milewicz] He did it unofficially, then?

[Zych] I heard such news on the radio.

[Milewicz] It follows that during your talk with the prime minister on Friday you did not discuss the date of the elections?

[Zych] No, we did not.

[Milewicz] Is it not strange that at 0820 the prime minister says in Polish Radio's Third Program that he would call on you to set the date, and right after that you meet with the prime minister and he does not say a single word about it?

[Zych] Perhaps the prime minister changed his mind. That is the prime minister's business.

[Milewicz] The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] said it would officially field its candidate one day after you announce the date of the elections. The PSL Chief Executive Committee announced a few days ago that it would officially field its candidate on 25 August. I gather, then, that you will announce the date of the elections on 24 August.

[Zych] The PSL electoral convention will certainly not be held on 25 August because the Sejm will be in session on that day. After all, Sejm deputies will take part in the convention, and thus will be otherwise engaged.

[Milewicz] Now, exactly why will you not announce the date on 22 August, that is, at the soonest date possible allowed by the Constitution?

[Zych] Because I do not think that date would be the most appropriate. Let us remember that the term of the incumbent president runs out on 22 December 1995 and nothing can shorten it. Also, the election date, no matter whether it comes sooner or later, does not have any influence on that.

[Milewicz] Democratic Left Alliance Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski, who is a member of your coalition, called on you nearly half a year ago to set the election date on 22 August....

[Zych] There is no coalition accord that would force me to set the election date on any one day or another. The prime minister, Mr. Kwasniewski, and a hundred other people can certainly make appeals. Anyone can do that in a democratic state. However, I am not interested in appeals. It is a duty of the Sejm speaker to do what the Constitution tells him to.

[Milewicz] Perhaps you do not want to yield to the pressure of your coalition partner in this case?

[Zych] No. If I had come to the conclusion that 22 August is the best date possible, I would say the following: Yes, Mr. Kwasniewski is right. However, my opinion is different.

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Attempts To Revive Fascist Iron Guard Traditions

AU2208091895 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 12-13 Aug 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Reviving Fascist Movement in Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A month-long camp opened near Padina in the Bucegi Mountains on 15 July aimed at reviving the traditions of the Romanian fascist organization Iron Guard and instructing young members in this organization accused of war crimes and banned after World War II. Although the Bucharest "nest" of the organization has not yet received court approval to function legally, the camp started, nevertheless, and a private television channel in Bucharest broadcast a 30-minute report on the activity of some 50 young people in the camp. The report elicited both dissatisfaction and interest among viewers.

The Bucharest daily JURNALUL NATIONAL [NATIONAL JOURNAL] prepared a thorough analysis of the ways fascist ideas were creeping back into the public after the changes in 1989, under the cover of democratization, ideas that Romania seemed to fully discard after the execution and death sentence of Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and Horia Sima and the massive incarceration of Iron Guard members after the war.

According to that study, the Romanian fascists who settled abroad became active in early 1990 and summoned the Iron Guard's faithful who were still living in Madrid, Freiburg, or the United States and thought of reviving their decapitated movement with financial aid and the instruction of young people.

They achieved their first success when the Movement for Romania, a party created to unite the university students, picked Marian Munteanu as its leader, the man who was the opposition leader of the student demonstrations held in Bucharest's University Square in the spring of 1990, a man who declared at the end of 1991 that Iron Guard Captain Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's ideas inspired him in working out the party's ideology.

Publication of "classic" works of the fascist movement increased after 1992, particularly by a publisher in Temesvar [Timisoara], and particularly in 1993 and 1994, after Hitler's *Mein Kampf* appeared in Romanian translation on the market with impunity, despite the fact that, on several public occasions, President Ion Iliescu officially condemned the publication of this work in Romania in the name of so-called freedom of the press.

Along with this, the National Rightist Party emerged on the political arena, a party that accepted Iron Guard traditions, and which practically became a "parliamentary party" after Cornel Brahas, the expelled spokesman of Funar's Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], officially represented the National Rightist Party in Parliament. Thus, the efforts of the Romanian Parliament to avoid the return of organizations that resemble the former Iron Guard are not very successful.

After the court decision banning the legal revival of the Christian Legion, Serban Suru, the initiator of this organization and the main organizer of the initiation camp in the Bucegi mountains, shamelessly declared the following: "If someone fears that the practice of political or ethnic murders is revived, the Christian Legion will have nothing to do with this; such actions can only be regarded as personal acts, and each person will bear personal responsibility for this." This clearly shows the timid and ambiguous reaction to this phenomenon.

With that declaration, the neofascist leader actually acknowledged that his predecessors had been planners and executors of political and ethnic murders in the thirties and forties. President Ion Iliescu already condemned the renewal of Romanian fascism in 1990, and the Romanian democratic opposition also took a stand against this. Open anti-Iron Guard positions were taken by the Organization of Former Political Prisoners, the Jewish Community in Romania, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the Ministry of Youth Affairs, and the Romanian intelligence services, which admittedly follows the revival of fascist movements in Romania with great concern and with a large apparatus. This revival is taking place in 16 counties, including Transylvanian counties, like Feher [Alba], Brasso [Brasov], Kolozs [Cluj], Temes [Timis], Bihar [Bihor], and Arad.

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160,000 Foreigners Granted Citizenship

LD2108181895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 21 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—The Ljubljana-based DELO reports that approximately 160,000 foreigners were granted Slovene citizenship from 1992 until today.

About 75,000 new Slovene citizens originate from Bosnia, 65,000 from Croatia, and 22,000 from Serbia. [passage omitted]

Party Leader Calls For EU, NATO Membership

AU2108131595 Vienna KURIER in German 21 Aug 95 p 4

[Article by Margaretha Kopeinig: "Jansa: 'Vranitzky Does Not Hear the Grenades Falling on Karlovac'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovenia's Social Democratic Party leader Janez Jansa is a realist: He calls for his country's simultaneous accession to EU and NATO. "Only the Alliance offers the security guarantee in Europe; the Western European Union, on the other hand, is a paper tiger," the former defense minister says.

He distances himself from the so-called extended concept of security of the Social Democratic Party of Austria. "Slovenia is directly affected by the war in the Balkans. Mr. Vranitzky does not hear the grenades falling on Karlovac. The times in which the social democrats had only one answer to one question are over," the opposition politician stresses.

Jansa criticizes and condemns European social democracy, claiming that it shares responsibility for the war in the Balkans. "The social democrats assessed Yugoslavia incorrectly after the fall of the Wall and committed serious mistakes."

Jansa, who was defense minister from the days of Slovene independence in 1991 to mid-1994, thinks that the "key to ending the war in the Balkans lies in Belgrade." President Milosevic continues to rely on "keeping Serbia as big as possible." He "sacrificed" Krajina, which was not strategically important for Milosevic; now he needs the refugees from Krajina to "solve the demographic problem, which Serbia has in Kosovo and in the depopulated eastern Bosnia," Jansa says.

For the elections in 1996, Jansa has the goal of bringing about a government majority with a coalition of social democrats, Christian democrats, and the People's Party in order to replace prime Minister Drnovsek's former communists, who are currently in power.

Participation in Cross-Border Program Described

95BA0315A Ljubljana GOSPODARSKI VESTNIK in Slovene 26 Jul 95 p 7

[Article by B.P.: "To Europe Bit by Bit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In five years, by 1999, Slovenia will receive ECU30 million as part of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, to encourage cooperation among regions along the borders of the EU [European Union]. On Tuesday, representatives of the Slovene and Austrian Governments signed a statement about their intention to cooperate in the economy, transportation, the protection and use of the environment, and the fields of education and culture. Also known is a tentative program for cooperation in the economy, which has designated as most important business cooperation, tourism, and agriculture, and the improvement of transportation links between the two countries.

For this year, among other things, assistance has been planned for equipping the small and medium-sized enterprises that will be formed in the Styrian Technological Park and linking that park to the technological park in Gradac, modernizing the border crossing at Jezersko, preparing a program to revitalize industrial Jesenice, and improving agriculture by introducing a greater variety of products, better marketing, and quality control. The development of new tourist products in border areas is supposed to encourage tourism in those areas, and cooperation should also begin in the preparation of a structural plan for the Triglav National Park, but primarily and solely in the preparation and implementation of an educational program and an information infrastructure.

In the EU, regional ties are becoming an increasingly important factor in seeking a balance between the policy of standardizing economic and political solutions and the diversity of the needs and characteristics of individual areas. More than 60 Slovene municipalities will thus be able to cooperate with their Austrian and Italian

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neighbors as part of PHARE's Cross-Border Cooperation program. On one hand, this may strengthen the self-awareness of those who claim that Europe also needs us, although reluctantly, while, on the other, it does not reduce the justification for the warnings that we have to prepare well for that kind of cooperation because equality is, for the most part, on the side of the large countries. Another pebble in the mosaic of these relations is represented by another intergovernmental document that was signed on Tuesday in Maribor, as part of cross-border cooperation with our northern neighbor, namely an agreement between the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Federal Government of the Republic of Austria on cooperation in land use, land planning, and regional policy.

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Federal

Recent Diplomatic Moves in Belgrade Reviewed

LD2108161295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 21 Aug 95

[By diplomatic editor Zoran Jevdjevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—Belgrade hummed with diplomatic activity last week aimed at making a breakthrough in the quest for a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian war and the overall crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

High-ranking officials from the United States and the European Union [EU] who visited the capital of the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro were unanimous that this was the decisive moment to accelerate the peace process and avoid an escalation of war.

The talks between the U.S. delegation and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic established that the crisis in the former Yugoslavia could not be resolved without Belgrade, which is sparing no effort for seeking a lasting peace in the region.

Practically the same assessment was made after Milosevic's talks with EU mediator Carl Bildt, Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana, whose country now holds the EU's rotating presidency [words indistinct].

Milosevic consistently insisted on an equal treament of all parties to the conflict as the only way to reaching a lasting and just peace.

The lifting of anti-Yugoslav sanctions also figured high on the agenda and the prevalent opinion was that not even formal reasons remained for keeping them in force.

It was noted that the procrastination in lifting the sanctions caused hidden dissatisfaction in some western countries and open protests in the countries neighbouring on Yugoslavia and in Russia.

The attitude of the most influential international factors to this issue will largely define the future course of events in the region.

The chance for peace exists and it has been wholeheartedly supported by Belgrade. The recent events and statements by Yugoslav officials undoubtedly confirm that Belgrade will not yield to the policy of war and will do everything to find a negotiated settlement.

The question remains, however, whether all the key protagonists of the Balkan drama are truly committed to peace.

Peace must be the vital interest of all, primarily the nations of the former Yugoslavia [words indistinct] which posed a series of conditions for accepting the latest U.S. peace plan, shows that some still favour a war option.

The absurd thesis that peace should be established through the escalation and internationalisation of the conflict still enjoys considerable support in the west.

Luckily, the situation there has changed too and things are seen much more clearly now.

Genocidal actions such as Croatia's aggression on the republic of Serb Krajina and its tragic consequences, have caused an unprecedented outcry in the western media and among western politicians, although their response is still far from adequate.

Washington's peace initiative is also very important, although it has to be said that it was predominantly motivated by President Bill Clinton's personal reasons.

If the sanctions against Yugoslavia are lifted and all parties to the conflict are treated equally, as the major condition for easing tensions and ending the war, all other outstanding issues will be resolved much more easily once peace is restored.

In that regard, Belgrade is fully supported by Moscow, which has been made abundantly clear by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and many other Russian officials.

Russian Aid Shipment Arrives in Belgrade 20 Aug

LD2008140095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1352 GMT 20 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 20 (TANJUG)--A 32-truck convoy carrying relief aid from the Russian Government for the displaced persons from the Republic of Serb Krajina arrived in Belgrade Sunday [20 August], Serbia's commission for refugees reported.

The aid comprises food, blankets and other indispensable articles.

It is the second aid shipment sent by the Russian Government since Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic recently visited Moscow.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin had promised during Milosevic's visit that his government would provide immediate aid for the displaced Krajina Serbs.

The first shipment of 90 tonnes of food was flown in last week.

The aid which arrived Sunday will formally be delivered to Serbia's commission for refugees on Monday.

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ICRC Help Asked in Finding Refugees in Croatia

LD1808170695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 18 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government urged Friday the International Committee of the Red Cross immediately to join the search for the 10,000-15,000 Serb Krajina refugees, of whom all trace had been lost on Croatia's territory.

Head of the Commission for Humanitarian Affairs and Missing Persons Pavle Todorovic informed head of the ICRC's Belgrade office Francois Steiner that Croatia's troops had intercepted a column of refugees on the Zagreb-Belgrade highway and taken them to camps, where they lacked the basic means of survival, a government statement said.

The Yugoslav Government official underscored that, according to the available information, the largest number of the refugees had been incarcerated in camps in Ivanic Grad, Kutina (western Slavonia) and the Spacva forests (near the border with Yugoslavia).

The Yugoslav representative drew special attention to the displaced persons held in the Spacva forests, where he said strong Croatian troops were massed.

Todorovic reminded the ICRC official that Danish U.N. peacekeepers had recently been used by Croatia's troops as a human shield and made to walk in front of Croatian tanks. He underscored that the Yugoslav side was rightly concerned that the Serb civilian refugees could be used in the same way.

The Yugoslav official urged the ICRC also to help the Serbs held in Croatia's prisons.

The ICRC official promised that he would intercede with Croatia's authorities to enable refugees in question to reach the destination of their choice, bearing in mind that Croatia's authorities were alleging that the respective individuals did not want to leave Croatia, the official statement said.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic had requested on Tuesday of U.N. special envoy for the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi that U.N. peacekepeers enable an unimpeded passage of the detained column of Serb Krajina refugees to Yugoslavia.

Head of the Yugoslav New York U.N. mission Dragoljub Djokic informed the Security Council on Wednesday about the disappearance of the more than 10,000 Serb refugees who were fleeing across Croatia's territory.

About 153,000 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina found a haven in Yugoslavia by Friday morning.

Settling of Refugees in Kosovo, Vojvodina Defended

AU1808171595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 95

[Statement by Margit Savovic, FRY minister without portfolio with responsibility for human rights and minority issues; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] When a town, a place where the majority population is a national minority represented by, for instance, 50,000 people and then some 1,000 hapless refugees arrive there, one cannot speak of the intention forcibly to change the ethnic composition of the place. However, I must say this: The most vociferous in opposition are, above all, some politicians. On this occasion, the people themselves do not express such animosity, but, as we have had the opportunity of seeing for ourselves recently, all of the people, irrespective of nationality, Slovaks and Hungarians in Vojvodina—true, sometimes hiding that from their political leaders—are bringing aid, offering aid, and receiving refugees in their homes, as misfortune has no nationality or political meaning.

For the government to accommodate refugees in Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija is certainly a sovereign right of every state. The territory of our state is complete, and there is no dividing [words indistinct], so refugees will be accommodated where there is space. Considering that those involved are mostly an agricultural population, these people would of course not be able to live in (?blocks of flats), and they want to live not in big cities but in villages, where they would be able to cultivate the land, of course if they decide to settle here permanently. Therefore, the optimum territories, regions, for them would certainly be such territories, such regions that exist [words indistinct] with very fertile land, where there is room for these village people, as well as in Vojvodina, where there are such regions.

Let me say that a large number of refugees are now in Vojvodina certainly because they have a lot of relatives there, and it is normal that one first seeks shelter among relatives and friends.

No More Room in Vojvodina for Krajina Refugees

LD2108135595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1128 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Sad, 21 Aug (TANJUG)—There is no more room in Vojvodina for housing refugees from the Republic of Serb

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Krajina, the Novi Sad hq for the reception and housing of refugees announced today.

All the people arriving in Novi Sad from now on will be sent on to Vranje [in southern Serbia], Pec, Pristina, Kosovska Mitrovica, Prizren, and other towns in Serbia. [passage omitted]

Neighbor States' Protests Over Refugees Criticized

LD2008135595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 20 Aug 95

["Pool" item; by Vladimir Resetar]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The Albanian authorities, followed by the Government of Hungary and would-be ruler of 'a Greater Muslim Bosnia' Alija Izetbegovic have protested over Serbia's accommodating, in its parts most suitable for the purpose, the misfortunate refugees driven by Croatia's aggression out of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Albania is bothered by refugees in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, the Hungarian Government by those sheltered in Vojvodina, and Izetbegovic by the fact that a number of refugees had arrived in the Raska region, or Sandzak.

This, they say in unison, upsets the ethnic patterns of the populations in the said parts of the Republic of Serbia.

In Kosovo and Metohija, as seen from Albania's point of view, what is desirable is an opposite process—to increase the Albanian population.

This decades-old process has been unfolding through the massive migrations from Albania, through a demographic explosion and through pressures being brought to bear on the Serbs and Montenegrins who remain.

By building up the number of Albanians, in absolute and relative terms, an ethnically pure space would be created for the emergence of 'a Greater Albania.'

The Hungarian authorities as well as Islamic fundamentalist Alija Izetbegovic are guided by the same reasons, judging by their rushed reactions.

In Vojvodina, the Hungarians make up the most populous national minority. But, in this northernmost part of Serbia, there are also large numbers of Romanians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croats, and Ukrainians alongside of members of twenty-odd nations.

Hungarians, just as other national minority members, are not pushed out of Serbia. Nor has the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ever had any territorial claims on its northern neighbour. As for [words indistinct] (?diplomatic contacts over) [words indistinct] suggest that mutual disputes have disappeared and that Serbia has voiced its readiness to close the case of the evils the Hungarian World-War-Two invaders had committed in Vojvodina and the case of the Hungarian authorities' role in arming Croatia and Slovenia for their forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia.

Are certain apparently suppressed appetites reappearing, or is this a careless reaction spurred on by wrong information obtained from the Hungarian nationalist parties in Vojvodina.

In addition to the Serbs, also the Muslims inhabit the Raska region. Izetbegovic persistently calls these Muslims the 'Bosniacs' although they had not arrived there from Bosnia. They are the Serbs converted to Islam during the Turkish rule.

A large number of Sandzak Muslims, to be sure, are fighting on Alija Izetbegovic's side in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. together with Izetbegovic, these Muslims dream of 'a Greater Muslim state'—without the Serbs, of course—in the heart of the Balkans.

How absurd Izetbegovic's protests are may be seen from the fact that a large number of Muslims escaped from Bosnia into Serbia.

Some of them have been in Serbia for more than two years now, while only recently one more thousand Muslim combatants have defected to Serbia unwilling to fight for Izetbegovic any longer.

In all the three cases, what is undoubtedly concerned is an open interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Behind this interference there appear outline ambitions to change the ownership of parts of the F.R. of Yugoslavia.

In the F.R. of Yugoslavia, there have been no violent acts towards the members of the said minorities. The authorities strongly react, preventing any such phenomena and clearly reaffirming that Serbia is the state of all its citizens irrespective of their religious, national or political denominations—just as its constitution prescribes.

Air Traffic Agreement With Ukraine Signed

LD1808134695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1044 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Yugoslav and Ukrainian governments initialed an air traffic agreement in Belgrade Thursday.

Under the terms of the agreement regular reciprocal flights will be established between the two countries, in line with international regulations.

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'This agreement means a lot to Yugoslavia, because it enables it to cooperate widely with Ukraine in the field of commercial air transport and in the field of transport in general,' Secretary of the Yugoslav Transport and Communications Ministry Zoran Kracic said.

'It goes even further, it opens the door to the development of bilateral cooperation in economy, culture and sports,' Kracic said adding that the document would soon be signed.

The head of the Ukrainian delegation Vadim Shmigun also said that the agreement was significant because Ukraine was now laying legal foundations for flights to Yugoslavia.

Specifying that for the moment the agreement only established air links between the two capitals Shmigun said he hoped that after the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia the cooperation between the two countries in that field would be further extended.

Bank Head Urges New Economic Recovery Program

LD2108161895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 21 Aug 95

[Report by Vesna Arsenic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 21 (TANJUG)—The governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia (NBJ), Dragoslav Avramovic, said on Monday that Yugoslavia needed a new, bold economic recovery program that would address the situation in the immediate future when international sanctions would be eased or even completely lifted.

In a meeting withn journalists from TANJUG and the Belgrade newspapers POLITIKA and VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Avramovic announced measures that should help improve the situation in the banking sector and restore the balance on the market between the prices of agricultural and industrial products.

If the sanctions are lifted, Yugoslavia will have to deal with the problem of structural adjustments in the economy that will be required by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, he explained.

Avramovic said that Yugoslavia should prepare for this moment now, by launching a radical reform of the policy of prices and exchange rates, stimulating privatisation and lifting administrative bans on foreign investments.

He also said that the country's monetary policy was still very restrictive and that the NBJ was strictly controlling the volume of the money mass.

Speaking of a growing discrepancy between the prices of farming products and industrial goods, Avramovic said that producers were compensating for a fall in production and limited use of their production capacities by increasing the prices of their goods.

This is the chief reason of the disproportion in the prices of farming and industrial goods, which can result in the fall of agricultural production as well, he explained.

Avramovic, who for many years worked as an expert of the World Bank, architected a program of economic recovery in late January 1994, when the Yugoslav economy was on the verge of collapse because of unprecedented hyperinflation and a tight international blockade.

Sainovic Expects No Inflation, Monetary Crisis

AU1908124395 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Aug 95

[Interview with Nikola Sainovic, deputy prime minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Dusko Petrovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sainovic] Our reply to this present situation, our general reply is our peace policy. In this respect, in fact, intensive talks are being held these days. Our economic reply is the further stable implementation of our economic program and an ultimate persistence that even such difficulties, these serious recent events, these humanitarian and social efforts are not contradicting our basic orientation to have a stable dinar, that everything that we have been doing, including what we have been doing on this humanitarian plane, we are doing from realistic resources, and we are, in fact, having a realistic decrease in public spending. Personal spending is also stable, it is also not increasing, all of which is a considerable contribution to an overall stabilization of the dinar.

The production situation is also encouraging because, as you know, this year industrial production has increased each month, in July as well. All this shows that our basic orientations are reliable; all these facts prove that any inflationary expectations are unfounded, as well as all traps that all these so-called concerned people were mentioning, such as a monetary crisis expected when payments for wheat purchase are begun. Well, the wheat is being paid for, and there has been no monetary crisis. They also said that overhauling electric power plants would cause a monetary crisis. It is not true. Overhauls are being carried out, true, with hundreds of difficulties, albeit successfully, and there has been no monetary crisis. Therefore, instead of a lot of talking, what we have left to do is a lot of work, struggle for exports,

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for distribution, and, as for the domestic market, prices must simply be reduced to be able to sell goods and earn working assets for new production.

[Petrovic] What next?

[Sainovic] Well, I would like to use this occasion to call on our businessmen on the boards of the Yugoslav banks: I think it is unacceptable to talk too much about needs to stimulate exports and increase production and to direct all expectations to the National Bank alone. We know what that may mean.

The only solution is to very critically watch balance sheets of every individual bank and to realistically assess the investments into industry of the kind that cannot be repayed. However, this should not serve as an excuse for investment that must be brougnt back, that must serve to renew the production cycle, and that banks must direct above all into exports and into the production of goods for the market along with reducing prices and relying on the policy agreed on by the chamber of commerce, trade unions, and the Government of the Republic of Serbia, which should insist on curbing price increases. This is our main road [word indistinct].

[Petrovic] All in all, Mr. Deputy Prime Minister, with your permission I would conclude that there is room for realistic optimism and that the Federal Government, as well as the republican and central bank, will be completely controlling the economic situation by the end of the year.

[Sainovic] The measures we have and results achieved under such difficulties show that we can control the economic situation by the end of the year, as well as prepare a clear economic policy concept for next year.

[Petrovic] Thank you.

[Sainovic] Not at all.

Proposed Law on Citizenship Discussed

95BA0306B Belgrade SRPSKA REC in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 95 p 26

[Article by Radmilo Cobovic: "Law on Citizenship: Miss in Advance; Low Examination"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A provision of law that is not clear, even to the layman, is not a legal provision. The justification for this is not and cannot be the fact that an important, complicated law is at stake, which is long overdue in resolving the question of the status of citizens in the current mixed-up situation in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], nor that a potential solution to this situation is a throwaway text! It simply exists, "holds water," until something else happens. Hence the question: Is the proposed Law on FRY Citizenship recently drawn up and adopted by the Federal Government clear enough, and did it come into being to be a constant or simply a reflection of the current political moment?

"Citizenship guarantees the status and rights of persons both in the country in which they are citizens and in any other state. This guarantee is not present in the various approaches to the proposed Law on Citizenship," is the reaction to "the first draft" (because even the proposed law has not yet been officially presented) by Belgrade attorney Sava Andjelkovic. In his words, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights obligates all members of the United Nations to protect basic human rights in their country. One of these rights is the right to chose citizenship.

"Unfortunately, in today's world many of these rights have been reduced to the bare minimum and have been politicized," Mr. Andjelkovic stresses. "The so-called great signatories of the Universal Declaration have imposed and are imposing visas on citizens of the FRY, which restricts their guaranteed freedom of movement. In a certain sense, they are being aided in this by the domestic authorities, who have yet to officially enact a Law on Citizenship, even though the state has formally existed for years."

Renunciation

The particulars of this proposed law are in fact perplexing. For example, there is a provision stating that Yugoslav citizens of age who hold foreign citizenship can renounce their Yugoslav citizenship up to the age of 23.

Especially debatable is Article 47 of the proposed law, which reads as follows: "Yugoslavia accepts as citizens all citizens of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] who, because of their national or religious affiliation, and support for respecting human rights and liberties, flee to the territory of Yugoslavia and submit to the competent institution an application for citizenship and do not hold foreign citizenship." The text states that the federal MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] decides on the application, but there is no mention of what criteria are applied. However, the explanation notes that "in this way Yugoslav citizenship will not be acquired by refugees from the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and the republic of Srpska [RS], but rather only by those from Croatia and the Croat-Muslim part of Bosnia."

"A person cannot choose where he will be born, but he can choose a certain political conviction, where and how he will live, where he will travel to, what he will do, which citizenship he will have.... However, many of

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these basic rights have been transformed into so-called discretionary rights of the state and have been extracted from the context of civil rights, which is not right and is contrary to the UN Universal Declaration. Specifically, it is not a matter of legal age or suffrage, for example, even if the state specifies an age; rather, it is one of citizenship that cannot be subject to time limits, but is instead permanent. The state can obligate its citizens to declare at age 18, when they become of legal age, whether they accept citizenship or do not want to be a citizen. But stipulating the age of 23 as the limit for renunciation of citizenship is not right. Why should one not be able to renounce it at, say, age 45 or 80? In this way, it all looks like a manifesto of current political interests," says Sava Andjelkovic.

Selection Made by MUP

Regarding the aforementioned Article 47, the attorney feels that it could not be said to fit in with European and worldwide legal standards, neither in terms of content, nor in terms of meaning, nor in terms of how and in what various ways it could be officially interpreted. "It is unclear, imprecise, and incomplete, and it leaves a lot of discretionary rights in the hands of a state institution to make selections as it sees fit."

Indeed, how and in what way will the federal Ministry of Internal Affairs divide and split up refugees into SFR [Socialist Federal Republic] Yugoslav (RSK and RS) and non-SFR Yugoslav (from Croatia and the Croat-Muslim federation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina)? Moreover, what about those from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]? And does the fact that the way of acquiring FRY citizenship described in the explanation to Article 47 does not relate to refugees from Krajina and the republic of Srpska mean that they have already been "co-opted" as Yugoslav citizens (and vice versa—that inhabitants of the FRY are already citizens of the RSK and RS) and that they are not refugees, despite the fact that they have the status of refugees today? There are other questions, and it is clear that besides theoretical dilemmas they will also provoke major practical problems if this provision is adopted by the Federal Assembly as it stands.

"The question of regulating citizenship must be clear. Europe today is adopting unified legislation without abolishing the nation or the state. One day our country too will become a member of the European Community, but with legal wording such as this, it will be hard to live up to European standards," concludes Mr. Andjelkovic.

It appears that the government itself is aware of the instant character of this part of the Law on Citizenship, because later on the explanation anticipates that immediately following an agreement resolving the Yugoslav crisis it will "be necessary to take measures to see to it that some of the refugees (it does not say which ones and from where) return to the locations from which they fled, and for those for whom that is not possible that they be integrated into society as soon as possible and that they be given the opportunity to support themselves through their labor and to acquire all civil and other rights, as Yugoslav citizens"!

Consistently unclear. Who knows why this is good, or if it even is good. In any event, the debate is yet to come.

New FRY Citizenship Law Approved

95BA0302M Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 95 p 11

[Article by S. Ristic: "Solutions To Meet the Highest Standards"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The solutions in the proposed version of the law on Yugoslav citizenship, which the Federal Government approved on 19 June, are taken from the highest standards and democratic achievements that have been attained in this field in international practice. Vukasin Jokanovic, federal minister for internal affairs, emphasized at the news conference held last week in this connection in the Palace of the Federation that this bill establishes legal continuity of citizenship, which necessarily follows from Yugoslavia's constitutional continuity. In the solutions offered, the following are considered Yugoslav citizens by force of law: first, citizens of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] who when the Constitution of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] was proclaimed on 27 April 1992 had republic citizenship in one of the republics that are members of Serbia or Montenegro; second, citizens of other republics of the former SFRY who at the moment when the Constitution was adopted were registered (permanent residents) on the territory of the FRY, provided they do not have second citizenship. In the latter case, the citizens of other republics of the former SFRY will within one year after the law takes effect have to apply for registration as Yugoslav citizens.

The bill, Minister Jokanovic said, emphasizes the obligation of the FRY to show concern for all citizens of the SFRY who because of ethnic or religious background, or disrespect for human rights and freedoms, fled to the territory of the FRY. That is why the proposed version of the new law introduces the institution of "naturalization as Yugoslav citizens." However, this does not mean that all refugees automatically become Yugoslav citizens. Interested parties will file an application with the federal MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and that

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body will evaluate the soundness of the grounds contained in the application.

The bill also opens up the possibility of revoking registration as a Yugoslav citizen, specifically when it is found that entry of Yugoslav citizenship in the birth records was made contrary to the regulations on citizenship, and especially on the basis of false or falsified documents and statements, on the basis of inaccurate facts, or other abuses and irregularities. Such registration shall be revoked, and that person will be regarded as though never having acquired Yugoslav citizenship.

The law does not provide for dual citizenship as a regular institution, but it is possible as an exception and on the basis of international treaties among states, and then upon reinstatement of our emigres and workers employed abroad temporarily who have foreign citizenship. Dual citizenship will be possible when a Yugoslav national takes the citizenship of a foreign state that does not require renouncement of Yugoslav citizenship. Foreigners will also be accepted as Yugoslav citizens "on the basis of particular service to Yugoslavia," which, it was stated, will be decided by the Federal Government.

Yugoslav emigres will also have advantages in acquiring Yugoslav citizenship. If they wish, they may take Yugoslav citizenship without renouncing foreign citizenship and without a permit for permanent residence on the territory of the FRY. It is spelled out in this connection that under the Constitution and the proposed law it does not matter to what nationality these emigres belong, but they may not have been punished for crimes.

In answer to a journalist's question about whether someone who has a Slovene or Croatian passport also can obtain a Yugoslav passport, Minister Jokanovic said that one cannot have two passports unless there is an agreement to that effect (on dual citizenship) between the states. Another question was could citizens of Serbia and Montenegro residing permanently in those republics who had republic nationality of former Yugoslav republics obtain Yugoslav citizenship? The answer was that provision has been made for these citizens to be regarded as Yugoslav nationals if they apply for registration as Yugoslav citizens and if they do not have foreign citizenship.

According to the provisions of the proposed law, the federal body competent for internal affairs will take over from the competent republic bodies unresolved applications for Yugoslav citizenship and renunciation of Yugoslav citizenship filed between 27 April 1992 and the day when the law takes effect, but persons who have acquired republic citizenship of Serbia or Montenegro over the period from 27 April 1992 to the day when the new law takes effect must again apply for Yugoslav citizenship to the competent federal authority.

New FRY Passport To Be Adopted

95BA0302N Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 95 p 11

[Article by S.R.: "New Passports"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Government recently adopted the proposed version of the law on passports, which will soon enter procedure for adoption by the parliament, and citizens of Yugoslavia will get new passports for travel abroad. Although the final appearance of the new passports to replace the red ones dating from the time of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] still has not been established, the new passports will be blue or dark maroon. As journalists at the news conference had occasion to see (they were shown both working versions of the future passports), these are passports with a modern design, considerably smaller than the present one and made by an up-to-date technology from the highest-quality materials, with visible and secret protective elements and foil. They will be printed by the mint, but experts from the School of Applied Arts of Belgrade University were consulted in making the samples. According to the proposal, the passports will have 32 pages, and the text will be written not only in Serbian, but also in English and French. Replacement of the old with the new passports will begin when the Federal Assembly adopts the law, and the transitional period will last two years. The future passports will be valid for 10 years, except for citizens under age 27. It is also proposed that children's passports be discontinued, because most countries do not recognize that type of document.

The procedure for obtaining a passport will be considerably easier; the passport application is presented in person, but it may also be presented through an attorney or by registered mail, which was not possible until now. The period for issuing the passport has been shortened from the previous 30 days to 15, and in certain urgent cases the passport is issued immediately, no later than 24 hours from the filing of the application.

The proposed version of the new law spells out the cases in which a passport shall not be issued: if criminal proceedings have been instituted against the applicant; if the court requests this while proceedings are continuing; if the person has been sentenced to an unsuspended prison sentence of more than three months, then until the sentence is served; if citizens are trying to avoid payment of taxes, customs duties, and other charges by leaving the country; or if they are planning to evade doing military service. The passport shall also not be

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issued if this is necessary to prevent the spread of infectious diseases and if this is necessary for reasons of defense of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

As for the proposed version of the law on monitoring the crossing and security of the national border, it has been established that the border is to be secured by the Army of Yugoslavia, but the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] is to monitor the crossing of the border at border crossings. The new law establishes a different regime at the border than the one provided under the 1994 Constitution, because that was a provision of a confederal nature. The new solution envisages that the Federal Government shall designate border crossings.

Serbia

Milosevic, Greek Minister Discuss Balkan Crisis

LD1808172995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 18 Aug 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—Serbia's President Slobodan Milosevic and visiting Greek Foreign minister Karolos Papoulias agreed here Friday that a decisive step had to be taken towards reaching definitive peace in the Balkans and securing conditions for the equality of the states and peoples in the region.

Milosevic and Papoulias underscored that the two countries held concurrent views on the resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia by political means, a statement released by the Presidential Office said.

Milosevic and Papoulias exchanged views on the major aspects of the political situation in the region, in particular the need to spur all-encompassing efforts to step up the peace process and definitively create conditions for an end to the military confrontation in the former Yugoslavia.

Greece supports Yugoslavia's peace efforts, convinced that a policy of peace is the only means of eliminating the existing tensions, calming the situation and extinguishing the war conflagration in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement said.

The meeting was attended also by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, until recently Yugoslavia's ambassador to Greece.

Papoulias Comments on Meeting

NC1808185595 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1700 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, during a meeting in Belgrade within the framework of the Greek peace initiative, described the situation in the former Yugoslavia as critical. The two men's talks lasted approximately 90 minutes, during which it was agreed that the foreign ministries of the two countries should remain in constant contact to exchange information and coordinate the mutual effort to avert a deterioration of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Papoulias and Milosevic expressed the wish that all countries would coordinate their efforts for a peaceful solution to the problem. During the talks, they also discussed the situation in Kosovo and the Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] issue.

After the conclusion of the talks in Belgrade, Papoulias left for Rome, where he will meet with his Italian counterpart, Susanna Agnelli.

Our correspondent Nikolaos Kalvas has the following report on the statements of Papoulias and Milosevic after the conclusion of their meeting in Belgrade:

[Begin recording] [Kalvas] During his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today in Belgrade, Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias once again reiterated Greece's insistence on finding a solution through negotiations. Papoulias said: The next few days will be decisive for the course of peace. He emphasized the need for a general mobilization of political means to end the crisis. During the meeting, both men agreed that sanctions must be lifted. The Greek foreign minister emphasized that it is not right for a country fighting for peace to be punished.

[Papoulias] I had a very important meeting with President Milosevic and Foreign Minister (Milutinovic) at a very crucial period, a period that requires the gathering of all forces fighting for peace. I believe that Greece, from the very beginning, has been on the side of the forces of peace, of the forces that were and are seeking a political solution, a solution that will arise from negotiations. We have always been among the people—there were very few—who support the lifting of sanctions against the new Yugoslavia because one cannot impose sanctions against people who fight for peace, and President Milosevic has been among the leaders favoring a peaceful solution. It must be understood that, when President Milosevic is fighting for peace in former Yugoslavia, he is fighting for peace in the Balkans and for peace in Europe in general.

I must repeat that this is a crucial moment and everyone must join forces to overcome the crisis, otherwise the tragedy will be generalized. Our cooperation is friendly. We agreed that we will be in constant contact during the next few days to coordinate our efforts. I believe that the

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next few days will be decisive for the course of peace. [passage omitted] [end recording]

'Milosevic Fighting for Peace'

AU1808200595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Aug 95

[Statements by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias and FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic at a news conference after their talks in Belgrade on 18 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Papoulias in Greek with passage by passage translation into Serbo-Croatian] I have had a very significant meeting with President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Milutinovic. It seems to me that this meeting was held at a very critical moment, one that imposes the need to mobilize all those forces that fight for peace. We have always been among those few who advocated and supported the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia and Serbia.

It would not be just to impose sanctions on those who are fighting for peace, and it seems to me that President Milosevic is one of the protagonists who are fighting for peace.

People should understand that President Milosevic is fighting for peace in Serbia and Yugoslavia and that he is at the same time fighting for peace in the Balkans and beyond, for peace in Europe.

I stress that the moment is rather critical and we should all combine forces to overcome the crisis and achieve peace because, if the opposite happens, the tragedy would be general.

[Milutinovic] I think that the U.S. plan, the Russian plan, and Bildt's plan are in fact the same, so one should not make any distinctions, nor should one search for them. I think we are all seeking the same goal. Of course, the roads toward it may differ somewhat, but we now have an opportunity to synchronize all of this. After all, you have seen today: All of these visits have that same aim.

Helsinki Committee on 'Forced Expulsion of Croats'

AU1908124995 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 95 p 14

[Article by Z. Knezevic: "In Zemun—Peaceful"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Studio B television station report on a statement by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights branch for Serbia on the forced expulsion of Croats from their homes to accommodate Krajina Serbs has had a strong echo and has resulted in other reports that deflect attention from the crime committed by Croats in Krajina. The statement dramatically says, among other things, that the most drastic cases were recorded in Zemun, Surcin, and Batajnica and that, after they broke into the houses, Krajina Serbs put out Serbian flags. Franjo Tudjman personally spoke about this.

Pursuing this information, we addressed the Zemun police and asked them to tell us what this specifically was about. The head of the team on duty stressed that, on the territory of this municipality, "there has been no forceful moving of refugees into Croat houses, nor is there going to be." This statement was confirmed in the Center for Notification and Alarm, where we were told that only one case had been recorded, in Zemun, but that forcibly entering one of the houses was prevented by police intervention.

However, according to the words of Elena Popovic from the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights for Serbia, there are a great number of citizens who say that refugees have been threatening them and requesting that they move out of their homes. Among others, the committee was informed of a case where a Croatian family moved out of its home in Batajnica, 9 Batajnickih Zrtava Street, and in Surcin, 182 Vojvodjanska Street, and there have been similar examples in Kukujevci, Mitrovci, Karlovci, Ruma.... As for Zemun, Elena said that there had been threats but no actual expulsions.

In the broadcast program, it was also stressed that the Serbs from the Republic of Serbian Krajina came with prepared lists of Croats and their addresses, thus stressing that they were prepared to move in forcibly.

"A great number of Serb refugees come to us for help, wishing to exchange their houses," Antun Kolarevic, a parish priest from Zemun, told us. "There have been no forceful expulsions in Zemun, although there have been some individual threats. In the previous two days, however, there was a lot of 'trouble' in Surcin, and, as far as I know, it seems that there it did come to the expulsion of some people of Croat nationality."

SPS: Krajina, Pale Leaders Betrayed Serbs

LD1908165395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prokuplje, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Ivica Dacic, the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] spokesman and deputy in the Federal Assembly, said in Prokuplje that the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] army was not defeated in the recent Croatian aggression against the RSK. The area fell because of the RSK leaderships' betrayal, betrayal that was prompted by the Pale leadership and its extremist demands, and all with

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the aim of dragging Yugoslavia into the war, which would have unforseeable consequences, the SPS main committee press department said in a statement issued today.

Instead of pursuing policies that would lead to international recognition of the Serb achievements reached through great sacrifices and defense of its liberty and equality, the RSK rulers squabbled among themselves, deepening internal rifts, constantly exacerbating the situation in the area and not observing the agreements reached during peace talks, thus giving Croatia an alibi to launch an aggression. Thus they treated their own people as pawns in their political games, Dacic said.

Knin contracted this high-risk strategy from Pale, where the people behind this strategy have for years been gambling with the fate of their own people by refusing to sign any peace agreement, regardless of whether it is in the interest of the Serb people. Thus, they have caused an enormous crack in the single Serbian state and national policy.

By refusing to make a decision in favor of peace, which is in the interest of the Serbian nation, these political gamblers produced a situation through engaging in deadlocked negotiations whereby a decision on Serb freedom and equality, which have already been realized through the great sacrifices made by the Serb people—must again be made on the battlefront instead of at a negotiating table, Dacic said.

Unfortunately, catastrophic consequences of this policy were also felt by the RSK people, which should have been resolutely defended by those who were the first to flee. The very fact that there was not a single serious armed conflict during Croatia's aggression on Krajina is clear proof that the Krajina leaders' plan did not envisage the defense of Krajina, but, on orders from Pale, was to drag Yugoslavia into the war and destabilize it, which would have caused much more suffering. Thus, Yugoslavia would have been used as a smokescreen for their perilous moves, which were made with reliance on the extremist Seselj-Djindjic-Kostunica tripartite pact in Serbia, who are trying to be heroes outside the theater of war operations, to whom the moaning over the fall of Krajina and the refugees' cruel fate amounts to nothing more than an issue for marketing their political parties, Dacic said.

We sympathize with the refugees, we share in their pain and suffering, but the hard burden of their leadership's treason—masterminded by Pale—cannot be shifted onto anyone.

The latest peace initiatives by the international community may be the last chance to achieve a final and fair peace, which offers the Serb people freedom and equality with other nations and which is based on the results of President Milosevic's long-term and wise diplomatic activity. Therefore, everything has to be done in order not to waste that chance; unnecessary further war should be replaced by the more than necessary fair and lasting peace, Dacic stressed.

SPO Urges Acceptance of International Peace Plan

LD1908170395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Acceptance of the international peace plan and an end to the war are preconditions for national and state renewal, today's joint meeting of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] Presidency, SPO deputies in the republican and federal assemblies and party municipal and district committee chairmen concluded.

A statement issued from the meeting says "no one in the [Bosnian] Serb republic has the right to gamble with the fate of the entire nation for the sake of 2 or 3 percent of territory, nor does anyone in Serbia have the right to choose transigent ideological and party interests and passions instead of eternal interests of the homeland."

"To rescue the state and the nation from cruel reality," the SPO proposes that relevant Serbian and Yugoslav state and diplomatic bodies, alone or in conjunction with governments of states willing to support us, ask the UN Security Council to guarantee observance of all resolutions granting Serb Krajina the status of a UN-protected territory.

The SPO recalls that the United Nations is duty-bound to ensure the return of all Serb refugees who want to return to their country and to guarantee their safety and to safeguard human and national rights.

It is also necessary "to ask the UN Security Council and countries members of the contact group energetically and at once to order Tudjman's army to withdraw from the territory of the Serb Republic and give up even a hint of any thought of carrying out aggression on Baranja, eastern Slavonia, and western Srem," the statement says.

A condition for an agreement on Baranja, eastern Slavonia, and western Srem must be the Serbs' return to Knin Krajina, the SPO leaders believe.

Prefabricated housing developments should be erected for refugees from the RSK who have come to our country; this should be financed by the United Nations, which should also provide funds for the refugees' social welfare. [passage omitted]

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National Party Leader Comments on Fall of Krajina

AU2008184495 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 18

[Interview with Milan Paroski, head of the National Party, by Vladan Dinic; place and date not given: "Yugoslav Army Will Simply Be Observing Croatian Occupation of Eastern Slavonia"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] National Party leader Milan Paroski had been absent from the Serbian political scene for two years, only to appear last week heading a group of demonstrators who were shattering windows at the German and U.S. Embassies in Belgrade because of their support for Croatian aggression on the RSK [Republic of Serb Krajina]. On that occasion, he fiercely clashed with militia, broke through a cordon of special policemen, and, with serious injuries and visible bruises, avoided being arrested. Well, so far at least.

A warrant has been issued for him! Among others, Mirko Jovic, leader of the Serbian National Renewal, Jovica Vlahovic ("Jovica the Currier"), the author of the "Danube blockade," and another 20 demonstrators are in prison.

[Paroski] Had these special policemen—equipped, armed, and combative as they were, who met us between the U.S. and German Embassies—been defending Knin, I am sure it would be the RSK flag flying over the Knin fortress instead of the Croatian chequered flag. [passage omitted]

[Dinic] You mentioned the quick fall of Knin. How do you, who were given RSK citizenship at one time, explain what happened there?

[Paroski] You would be better off asking the general commander, General Mile Mrksic. If anybody knows anything, it is he. Well, was it not he who was sent there, to Krajina, to sort out things? It can be seen now how he sorted it out: The chequered flag is flying over the Knin fortress. [passage omitted]

[Dinic] Croats have been massing troops in front of Vukovar. What do you expect for eastern Slavonia?

[Paroski] I do not expect anything there. I do expect something in Srem. It is a fact that there has been movement of Serbian troops, that Serbian tanks have come out of hangars and stopped at the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, at the same time, there are more than 100 km to the front and to the Croatian tanks. At the same time, Croatian tanks are there, within gun range and across some poorly held Serbian positions. You should not forget that there are no longer any mine fields between Croatian and Serbian positions. UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has removed them, and the Croats are well aware of that. From Mirkovci onwards, there is no heavy artillery, only some light weaponry. And tanks and missiles in Serbia are more than 100 km away. The Yugoslav Army can hardly defend Mirkovci, Vukovar, and further on from where it is.... If it started operating from the present positions, it would be shelling only Serb positions. I am afraid that the Yugoslav Army is there only as a witness, a witness that is not interfering in a new defeat of the Serb people, because from Sid it has no chance of reacching the Croatian tanks and troops.

[Dinic] Was it not the Serbs, immediately after Croatian attacks on Knin, who responded by attacking Vinkovci, Osijek...?

[Paroski] The people of Srem reacted by themselves. They wanted to ease the pressure on the RSK army around Knin, but was it not the Yugoslav Army that made them return instead of proceeding to Papuk and Bilogora? No, I really fear the Yugoslav Army is being only a silent witness, the final witness of the definitive defeat of Knin. After that, we here will be delighted by our own humaneness and ability to organize humanitarian aid. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 18]

Mladic Has Been in Belgrade for Days and Sending Delegations to the Yugoslav Left and the Communist Party-Movement for Yugoslavia

[Dinic] Can you comment on the clash between Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic?

[Paroski] On the basis of the Constitution of the Serb Republic, Karadzic has the obligation to arrest people and bring them before even military courts, if need be. How was it possible that Glamoc and Grahovo fell and Gen. Mladic was in Belgrade for four days and was sending delegations to the Yugoslav Left and the Communist Party-Movement for Yugoslavia? I have witnesses who can prove that that was so, and then, when he was back, his supreme commander was not allowed to replace him. If, however, Mladic was right and Karadzic is a traitor, how is it then possible that the head of the General Staff of the Army of the Serbian Republic cannot topple such a president? Have you ever heard of a case in the world in which generals are tendering resignations and writing petitions? Well, you have not and will not, except here.

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Leader of Vojvodina Croats 'Asking for Trouble'

AU2008183095 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by M. Mitric: "Celebrating Other People's Tragedy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As Croatian Radio reports, Bela Tonkovic, president of the Democratic Union of Croats in Vojvodina, petitioned the Government of Croatia to detain Krajina soldiers they had captured, as long as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia does not warrant absolute protection to the Croat population in Vojvodina.

Tonkovic wrote to Nikica Valentic, Croatian prime minister, that for days members of Krajina units who had fled to Vojvodina terrorized the Vojvodina Croats with weapons.

It is true that in some villages of Srem anger blurred the minds of a small number of the exiled, who, spurred by their distress and pain, tried to solve their troubles by themselves. Their acts can be understood but not excused.

However, Bela Tonkovic and the leading representatives of his party are doing everything to provoke a conflict in Subotica. With his followers, he publicly celebrated the fall of Knin in this town, and he is using the traditional harvest celebration, which is being celebrated in Subotica today, to provoke political conflicts. On the posters for the harvest celebration, in a place called Mala Bosna, there are Croatian national symbols and pictures of Ban Jelacic [Croatian historical figure]; and recently, at the expense of some sponsors from Subotica, Tonkovic even sent the juniors, "Croatian Youth," to Split to personally congratulate the [Croatian] fighters on the victory.

And, while some political parties and individuals asked for today's festivities to be postponed for better days, Tonkovic did not accept that; instead, he invited "officials" from Zagreb and 15 charges d'affaires from various embassies in Belgrade.

As a convoy of refugees passed through Palic last night, in the center of the town, on a specially constructed stage, a "fiesta" was going on.

Is not Bela Tonkovic, through these gestures, asking for trouble himself?

Government Reports Wheat Yield of 3,242,000 Tons

LD1808213695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 18 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia this year produced 3,242,000 tons of wheat, including a market surplus of 2,100,000 tons, the Serbian Government said on Friday.

Within a discussion of acute problems in connection with the realization of the country's economic recovery program, the Serbian Government said harvest had been completed successfully in the entire republic.

This year's production, market surplus and stores of last year's harvest of 1,000,000 tons guarantee that this product will be in good supply for the next two years and open possibilities for exports of over 2,000,000 tons of wheat, the Serbian Government statement said.

Montenegro

Hungarian Businessmen Seek Cooperation

95BA0312B Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 95 p 21

[Article by A.S.: "Preparations for Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce of Craftsmen and Tradesmen (it is made up of private businessmen, owners of small and medium-sized businesses), led by Mr. Tibor Szabo, has paid a five-day visit to Montenegro, and on that occasion talked to businessmen of this republic about business cooperation in the past and possibilities of expanding and improving it. The talks begun in the Montenegrin Economic Chamber in Podgorica, in which the chamber's vice presidents and secretary took part, along with the assistant ministers for tourism and land use planning in the Government of Montenegro, and businessmen from the private and socialized sector, were continued afterward in Bar, Budva, Kotor, and Cetinje.

The visit of Hungarian businessmen to Montenegro followed the agreement signed recently on economic cooperation between the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce and the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, said Ivan Mitrovic, vice president of the Montenegrin Economic Association, in welcoming the guests. Before the economic blockade was introduced against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], economic cooperation between the FRY and Hungary was on the upswing, Mitrovic said. However, the adoption of the sanctions against the FRY, which have affected not only the FRY but also our neighbors, broke off that cooperation and mainly reduced it to maintaining business contacts and intensifying them in the newly created situation, so that through joint efforts business ties established earlier have been renewed and maintained, and the most suitable forms have been found for economic linkage of the economies of the two countries after the sanctions are removed.

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Pointing out the important opportunities for economic cooperation between Montenegro and Hungary in various branches of business activity, the Montenegrin businessmen emphasized that it is in their mutual interest to establish business ties, above all in the field of tourism, because Hungarian tourism has a 27-percent share in total foreign tourist traffic, and then in rail and highway transportation, construction, metal manufacturing, private enterprise, compensation deals, trade, joint investments, and so forth.

Thanking the hosts for their hospitality, Tibor Szabo, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce of Craftsmen and Tradesmen, briefly familiarized the Montenegrin businessmen with the system of chambers in Hungary, emphasizing that it differs greatly from the system of chambers in the FRY. That is, in Hungary, which has 20 parishes, there are chambers of commerce in each of them, but each parish also has its central chamber. By contrast with the system of chambers in the FRY, in Hungary there are three national economic chambers: agricultural, trade and industry, and crafts and trades. They were all established in 1994 and have about a million member organizations. The Crafts and Trades Chamber of Commerce alone has 270,000 member organizations, and the broad range of crafts and trades (221 recognized crafts and trades and 450 additional ones) offers exceptional opportunities for economic ties between Hungarian and Montenegrin businessmen. The formation of this system of chambers restructured the Hungarian economy and brought about conditions for firmer economic ties with foreign partners.

Membership in the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce is not mandatory, Mr. Szabo recalled, but when an operating permit is issued, the right to join is automatic, but certain obligations have to be paid. The chambers have their own self-government and their own regulations (bylaws and so on) that are the basis of their activity, and the competent ministries oversee what they do.

Even though politics takes different roads from the economy, we will do everything, Mr. Szabo said, to join Yugoslav businessmen in developing diverse and successful economic cooperation in all areas in which partners find their own economic interest. That cooperation can, of course, be achieved only after the sanctions are removed.

Kosovo

Albanian Parties Concerned About Krajina Refugees

LD2108153395 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 21 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—In today's issue, the Pristina Albanian-language daily BUJKU carries a report on a meeting in Ulcinj between Mehmet Bardi, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Albanians of Montenegro; Fehmi Agani, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo; Mark Krasnici, chairman of the Albanian Democratic Christian Party; and Zef Busati, chairman of the Democratic Christian Party of Albania.

According to the daily, the leaders of the political parties expressed "understanding and sympathy with the suffering of refugees" but condemned the accommodation of Krajina refugees in Kosovo.

The daily says the party leaders believe that the arrival of refugees will disturb the ethnic structure of the province, which is "unacceptable for the Albanians," and that the objective of the accommodation of refugees is the "colonization of Kosovo."

However, BUJKU does not present any further details of the meeting.

PPK Protests Serb 'Warmongering' Policy

AU1908204295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 19 Aug 95

[Telephone report by Sherif Konjufca from Prishtina on communique issued by the Parliamentary Party of Kosova in Prishtina on 19 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the fall of the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina, the conviction that Serbia, with its militarist policy and the military force of the former Yugoslav Army, may impose its solutions in the former Yugoslav area has started to break, states a public communique by the Parliamentary Party of Kosova [PPK].

The communique states that it is currently evident that the war in the former Yugoslavia has not brought about the desired outcome to those who started it. The endless caravans of Serbs evicted from Croatia are a tragic testimony of that warmongering policy and the start of the degeneration of the conflict in this area, which is precisely concocted by the Serbian aggressive policy.

The PPK assesses that, with the fall of Knin, the much-emphasized analogy between Kosovo and Krajina, in whose trap some Kosovar politicians were caught, has

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definitively fallen apart. The tendencies to rid Albanians from Kosovo and colonize it with Serbs testify that official Belgrade, despite its verbal declaration, in fact has not abandoned its militarist policy in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. This Belgrade orientation will bring about new tragedies not only for the Bosnians and Albanians but also for the Serbs themselves, who will bear the gravest consequences at the end, the PPK communique further states.

The PPK expresses its concern that the eviction of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants from one area may be implemented for other areas as well. Such a fact in Kosovo would be tragic for Albanians and the Serbs. There is still time not to allow such a thing to happen in Kosovo. Above all, the Serbian people and politicians should understand this because, without a just solution to the Kosovo question, there can be no peace and calm in the Balkans, states the PPK's public communique.

Youth Forum Urges Stop to Settling of Refugees

AU1908205695 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Presidency of the Youth Forum of the Democratic League of Kosova [LDK] condemns the Serbian Government's initiative to install Serbian refugees in Kosovo and stresses that this is a dangerous act that leads to escalating the situation that threatens to turn into an open conflict in Kosovo, whose consequences would be unpredictable.

The LDK Youth Forum addressed a call to all international associations and institutions to take the necessary measures to stop this Serbian action. The statement also stresses the fact that the grave situation in Kosovo and the repression measures have obliged many Albanians to abandon Kosovo.

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